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MEMOIRS

OF THE

POLITICAL AND LITERARY LIFE

OF

ROBERT PLUMER WARD, ESQ.

AUTHOR OF "THE LAW OF NATIONS," "TREMAINE,"
"DE VERE," ETC. ETC.

WITH SELECTIONS FROM

HIS CORRESPONDENCE, DIARIES, AND UNPUBLISHED LITERARY REMAINS.

"Hæc studia adolescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant; secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium præbent; delectant domi, non impediunt foris; pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur."—CICERO, *Orat. pro Archiâ.*

BY

THE HONOURABLE EDMUND PHIPPS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.
1850.

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MEMOIRS

OF

ROBERT PLUMER WARD, ESQ.

CHAPTER I.

PARENTAGE OF MR. WARD. — MOTHER A SPANIARD. — HER PREMATURE DEATH. — GREAT KINDNESS OF GENERAL AND MRS. CORNWALLIS. — MR. WARD'S EARLY FONDNESS FOR MILTON AND SHAKSPEARE. — SENT TO HACKNEY SCHOOL. — REVOLUTIONARY PRINCIPLES OF MASTER. — STUDIOUS HABITS AT SCHOOL. — LOSES HIS FRIENDS THE CORNWALLISES. — SENT TO CHRIST CHURCH. — COLLEGE FRIENDSHIPS. — TOUR TO THE LAKES WITH SIR MICHAEL SHAW STEWART. — GOES TO THE BATHS OF BARÈGES FOR HIS HEALTH. — ADVENTURES ON COMMENCEMENT OF FRENCH REVOLUTION. — RETURNS TO ENGLAND.

THE subject of the following Memoir was the sixth son, and eighth child, of John Ward, Esq., a Spanish merchant, who resided at Gibraltar, and had been for many years chief clerk to the Civil department of the Ordnance, in the garrison. Mr. John Ward was born at Gibraltar (where his father had before him borne arms with honour, and died in the British service), and there married a native Spaniard, Mdlle. Rebecca Raphael, a young lady of Jewish extraction, and of a

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family originally from Genoa. By her he had a numerous progeny, the greater portion of whom died young: of those that survived the period of infancy, the most eminent were, George, the late wealthy proprietor of Northwood Place, in the Isle of Wight; and Robert, whose career I propose to trace in the following pages.

It has been erroneously stated, that not only was his mother a Spaniard, but that he was himself born at Gibraltar. The fact is, however, that, during one of the occasional visits of his parents to this country, he was born in Mount Street, on the 19th of March, 1765. Notwithstanding this greater or less claim to Spanish blood in his veins, it must be allowed by those who knew him best, that neither in his personal appearance, nor in his character and temperament, did it display itself. He had neither the dark complexion and thoughtful grandeur of expression, nor the grave sententiousness and proud reserve, of the Spaniard; his cast of countenance was essentially Saxon; and the bright blue eye, even flow of spirits, and indefatigable energy of his mind and body, proclaimed him a native-born Englishman.

He had the misfortune of losing his mother at the early age of three, as she died at Brentford on the 18th of August, 1768, when only thirty-six years old. Her place was, however, in some degree supplied by the warm and affectionate interest taken in him by the Honourable Mrs. Cornwallis, grand-daughter of Charles, second Lord Townshend. Her husband, General Cornwallis (brother of the famous Lord

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Cornwallis), was at this period Governor of Gibraltar; and the precocious talents and promising character of the young Robert Ward had early attracted their attention. Having no children of their own, they took the greatest interest in his progress and education. Many a time would they listen with delight to his recitations from Milton, at the early age of eight, in which the quickness of his memory was not more wonderful than his apparent appreciation of the full meaning of a poet so little likely to attract the mind of childhood.*

In 1776, when he was but eleven, and still at his first school, he was so unfortunate as to lose both his kind friends, General and Mrs. Cornwallis, in one year. It would seem that Mr. John Ward was fully sensible of the superior advantages of an English education for his son, as the young Robert was early sent to an academy at Walthamstow, which then enjoyed considerable reputation, and was kept by a Mr.

* That his devotion to Milton did not hinder him from feeling a due reverence for the more universal genius of Shakspeare, may be collected from the recollections of one still living, who describes his first return to England, at the age of eight, after passing his early boyhood in Spain "His dress," she remarks, "would seem grotesque at the present day: his coat and vest (the coat and vest of a little boy!) were of pompadour colour, silk stockings, Spanish-leather shoes, and a cocked hat. His *entrée* was marked by something more than boyhood; and amongst his first inquiries of me (a girl little older than himself), were, — 'Had I ever read Shakspeare!' 'Did I not delight in Macbeth?' 'Was there a large attic in the house, into which he could get us to introduce a huge iron pot from the kitchen to represent a cauldron?' This, when his wish was accomplished, he stirred up with terrific effect; afterwards proceeding through every character in the tragedy with much energy and pathos. My sister, Lady ——, and myself, were shown how we were to enact the weird sisters and join in the chorus."

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Macfarlane. This person was (though otherwise well qualified for his charge) not unjustly subjected to the imputation of holding violent republican principles. Not only did he suffer for this tendency of his mind, (and for the practical illustration of his notions of equality which his marriage with his cook afforded,) by ultimately losing the scholars his literary reputation had collected; but, by a singular fatality, his death was caused by a temporary triumph of those very principles for which he had suffered so much. During the fearful riots that occurred at Brentford, at the contested election for Middlesex, between Burdett and Byng, in 1806, among the victims who fell in the tumult, not by the swords of the military, but by the wild violence of the infuriated mob, was poor Macfarlane, the classical scholar and kind-hearted preceptor, with whom the early school-days of the young Robert Ward had been passed. Among his school-fellows was the late Mr. Justice Allan Parke, who was long one of his firm friends when they together went the Northern Circuit. Little, of course, can be known of these school-days, except that his activity of mind, and love of study and meditation, were displayed even thus early. Many a time did he climb the highest trees in the neighbourhood,— not, like the other boys, on birdnesting exploits intent, but for the purpose of retiring to study and muse apart from the busy hum of his more thoughtless companions.

An extract which I have found written, in later years, in the first page of a small edition of Pope's Works, in his library, will convey a better idea of his

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peculiar character and habits at this early period of his life, than could a whole chapter of the recollections of his childhood gleaned from others. In such contributions the knowledge of ultimate literary eminence, and the wish to add brighter lights to what can be but a faint picture, may exaggerate or invent; but here we have the simple fact, in simple language, related *by* himself, and, as it were, *to* himself alone. The edition of Pope's Works is that of 1777, and is marked with his name in the fly-leaf, in firm schoolboy's hand; but on the title-page occurs the following entry, without a date, but written in the trembling characters of age:—"I would not take fifty guineas for these little books. They first gave my mind the bent most productive of its happiness, — a taste for poetry and the politer prose. Somebody (I forget who) at twelve years old gave me half-a-guinea, and I laid it out in these ten little volumes, at Cuthill's stall, in Middle Row, Holborn. How did I hug them afterwards at school! What joy did they not give me in my attic where I slept at night, or under a tree in a sunny day! Alas! that in my frequent movings seven volumes should be lost. No matter: these that are left are like the Sibylline books. From a stall-keeper, Cuthill became afterwards a great bookseller, and I —— Yes, as Sir John Hotham, who from a hosier became Sheriff of Sussex, said to Chief Baron Skinner, who came the circuit, 'God, my lord, has been very bountiful to us both, since we lived in the little house in Serle Street.'"

That he should be in due time sent to Oxford, had

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been a pledge given by his father to the two friends who had taken so much interest in his education, but who had been, so unfortunately for him, removed from the world before they had carried out all their kind intentions in his favour. Their object was to procure for him a studentship; and of success in this kind project there seemed to be good prospect. The twin brother of the late Governor of Gibraltar was now Archbishop of Canterbury, and entered very warmly into his brother's wishes. Unfortunately, however, he too died in 1783, so that the hopes of the young student were again disappointed.

By the kind co-operation, however, of his two elder brothers, John and George, in aid of his father's wishes, his transfer to Oxford was effected; and he obtained rooms at Christ Church, in January 1783, being then but eighteen. There he stored up that admiration for the character of the famous Cyril Jackson which not only found a voice in some of his later works, but which, amid political arrangements in which Dr. Jackson felt greater interest, and took more part, than is usually compatible with a college life, led to frequent intercourse between them. At Oxford I cannot find that he distinguished himself by any public display of classical attainments. Indeed, it is probable that on leaving college, which he did in 1787, the principal recollections with which his mind was stored would be the embarrassment of a number of debts then contracted, with very inadequate means to discharge them. That his time was not spent in idleness, his familiar acquaintance with the Classics,

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both in some of his boyish essays and in the productions of his later years, renders certain. Throughout his life he preferred, where it was possible, to follow, in his course of study, the bent of his own mind, — leading him, indeed, not to idleness, but to a wider range and into less frequented paths than the stricter requirements of a college education point out.

I find among his papers an early essay on a subject little likely to attract the attention of any one who had just completed a residence at college of which idleness could be the principal feature. It is entitled, "Some Considerations on the Questions *De Jure* and *De Facto* in the Civil Wars of Charles I. and the Usurpation, and on the Principles on which the Revolution was founded." This essay, completed while he was just commencing his study of the law, is written in a stiff and formal style, quite different from the publications which he a very little later gave to the world; but it contains quotations from, and references to, not only the ordinary authorities of the law student, such as Hale's Pleas of the Crown, Coke, Foster, Hawkins, Blackstone, &c., but also to Shakspeare, Sallust, Paley, Burnet, Macpherson, Locke, Grotius, &c.; all betokening an inquiring and philosophical turn of mind — all speaking of anything but an idle student at school or college.

During his residence at college he contracted a friendship with two distinguished individuals, — the late Right Honourable Sturges Bourne, and the late Sir Michael Shaw Stewart; which was never interrupted, and only terminated by their deaths. With

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Sir Michael Shaw Stewart, then Mr. Stewart, he made a tour of the English lakes in the course of one of their long vacations.

Of this tour, I found preserved among his papers a detailed journal, of which the most remarkable feature is that intense love for the beauties of nature, which, after all the excitements and occupations of this "working-day world," he preserved in all its freshness to his latest years.

Soon after his departure from Oxford he was entered at the Inner Temple; but, before he had completed the time necessary for his being called to the bar, he had to start for France, — not, indeed, for the sake of the continental polish which it was then thought, and perhaps truly, nothing but the grand tour could effect, but in hopes of averting, by the use of the baths of Barèges, an alarming tendency to stiffness in the knee-joint.

He went there on crutches, but was soon able to discard them, and in a short time his cure was complete; but the society of the French ladies proved so agreeable, and the invitations of the friends he had found so pressing, that he was persuaded to linger on. Thus did he pass from one country-house to another, till the horrors and excesses of the French Revolution had reached such a height as to threaten even his own personal safety.

It happened, unfortunately for him, that another "Ward," of about the same age and personal appearance, had incurred the suspicion of the republican party at a moment when suspicion lost all its doubts,

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and death followed close upon the heels of certainty. To use his own words, "I was arrested for having the same name, and the same coloured coat and waistcoat, as another Ward, guilty of treason; was ordered without trial to Paris, to be guillotined; and only escaped by their catching the real traitor. I was, however, banished the republic merely for my name's sake."

It was during this period that a singular adventure occurred, to which he has himself alluded in one of his later works.* "It was," he says, "during that revolution in France when the convents were all dissolved, that a poor girl was turned into the street with not more than a nightcap for her portion. There she might have starved, but for a poor old aubergiste of the *ancien régime*, who shared her bread and water with her. I had put up at the *auberge* in one of my foot peregrinations, such as I have lately been upon. The nun was not only starving, but ill, and thought herself dying; and the greatest unhappiness was, that she could not be confessed, since both she and the aubergiste thought there was no salvation for her except through a priest of the old school. Hearing her story, and tolerably well furnished at the time, I sent her a couple of gold Louis. They were astounded, and, laying their heads together, resolved I could be nothing short of a bishop in disguise, endeavouring to escape; and they implored I would save the poor nun, by confessing and

* Illustrations of Human Life, vol. ii.

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giving her absolution. At first I would not, but they went on their knees, and the nun said she already felt the claws of the devil, from which confession alone could relieve her; so at last I complied. The result was, that I found her an innocent, simple young creature, who had been trepanned from her father, a German Protestant of Hesse Darmstadt, and converted and professed in a low convent; and as it was but a hundred miles off to Darmstadt, I persuaded her to go back to her family. I asked the aubergiste to take charge of her, but she refused, because she said she would be converted to the wicked Lutherans. As I had taken two places in the diligence, and the aubergiste would not go, I thought it best to go myself and deliver her to her father, who overwhelmed me with gratitude."

He now thought of returning home; but, in passing through France, had another narrow escape. War having been just declared, it was with the greatest difficulty that he passed from that country to England. Among all the sad cases of blighted careers which were produced by the proceedings adopted on that occasion by the revolutionary government, none would have been more sad and complete than the detention of a young man like Robert Ward, full of energy, and endowed with talents which he had been as yet denied the opportunity of displaying upon any worthy object.

So narrow was his escape, that he was the last person to embark on board the last packet that was

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permitted to sail for England. At the commencement, then, of that period which was to have so permanent an influence on the condition not only of England, but of all Europe, mounted on a post-hack, for he had taken that mode of proceeding from Dover to London, and dressed in the *outré* French mode of the day, the young Robert Ward, unknown and unknowing, might be seen to enter London, where his career was about to commence.

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CHAP. II.

CALLED TO THE BAR. — CURIOUS ADVENTURE, WHICH INTRODUCED HIM TO THE NOTICE OF PITT. — THE REVOLUTIONARY WATCHMAKER. — MR. WARD BROUGHT BEFORE A CABINET COUNCIL. — THE IDEA OF HIS WORK ON THE LAW OF NATIONS SUGGESTED BY THE LATE LORD ELDON, THEN SOLICITOR-GENERAL. — FIRST INTENTION OF THAT WORK. — EXTRACT SHOWING ITS ULTIMATE CHARACTER.

ON the 18th of June, 1790, Mr. Ward was called to the Bar by the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple. The commencement of his practice, but not the progress of his studies, had been interrupted by his visit to France. Even there, amidst the temptations of pleasure and gallantry, he had not failed to pursue, from time to time, the drier studies of the law, and even to commence a very extensive course of historical research.

It was soon after his return from France that an adventure occurred to him which savours more of romance than of reality, and in which a lucky *chance* would by some be said to have introduced him to the notice of him who was then the most powerful man in England,—William Pitt ; while those who look more closely into character would see in it but the natural consequence of that boldness and energy which Mr. Ward displayed throughout his after-life.

He was, early in 1794, leaving his chambers in the Temple for the purpose of paying a visit in the

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northern outskirts of London. Upon crossing Fleet Street he had to traverse Bell Yard, and as he passed a watchmaker's shop his attention was attracted by a placard in the window, of a very revolutionary character, convening a meeting of a certain society, that evening, at the watchmaker's.* Many a man would have passed it unnoticed, or contented himself with a feeling of regret or indignation at the prevalence during that period of similar views. Not so was it with young Ward; he was fresh from all the horrors which the success of such principles in a neighbouring country had entailed. He at once determined to enter the watchmaker's shop and provoke a discussion with him. For two hours did the young student contest with the republican the justice of his sentiments; for two hours did he labour to impress upon him, not only by argument but by his own experience, the horrors to which success must lead; but at the end of that time he was obliged to leave him apparently unmoved, or at all events unconvinced. He paid his distant visit, and late in the evening returned homewards through the same alley. Despairing of success, he paid no second visit to his disputant of the morning, though he did remark with pleasure that the revolutionary placard had been withdrawn. Hardly, however, had he passed the shop twenty yards, when he heard some one running after and calling to him. He looked back and beheld the republican watchmaker. The manner of the man was changed from

* The name of the man was Scott, and he is even now well remembered by some of the neighbours.

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the dogged imperturbability with which he had listened to Mr. Ward's arguments in the morning, to a frank and eager confidence. "I have called you in," said he, "to say I have done nothing but think over your words: I feel their truth; I shudder at the precipice on which I stood, at the evil I was about to do; and am now as anxious to communicate and prevent, as I was before to conceal, all our schemes." He then communicated to him the existence of a most fearful plot against the government, which, with his newly awakened feelings, he longed to frustrate by immediately informing the authorities, if he who had convinced would also accompany and support him.

They went to the chief magistrate, Sir Richard Ford, who attached so much importance to the communication, that the three were at once ushered into the presence of Pitt and his colleagues, assembled with Macdonald and Scott, the Attorney and Solicitor General. The singular history was duly narrated in detail; the arguments carried on by the young Mentor, the misgivings of the republican, and then the details of the impending danger. The countenance of Pitt was turned with interest on the young lawyer, who seemed not only to share that horror of revolutionary movements with which he was himself so strongly imbued, but who had so gallantly acted upon it. "What was your motive, young gentleman," he inquired, "for thus entering the shop?" "I, sir," answered young Ward, "am not long returned from France, and have there seen in practice what sounds so fine in theory." Warrants were issued upon the

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information of the watchmaker; and thence arose one of the principal incentives to the state trials of 1794, which, however, as is well known, did not end in a conviction. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Pitt was not of a character to lose sight of the young lawyer who had performed so distinguished a part on so important an occasion; and when the young Ward was still further recommended to him by others who had better opportunities of knowing his ability, it is no wonder that, a few years afterwards, the offer of a seat in parliament should come to him in the flattering shape of a letter written by Pitt himself.

The more immediate consequence of this romantic adventure was to procure for him the friendship of Lord Eldon, who, as we have mentioned, was then Solicitor, and at the time of the trials Attorney General, and who, upon further cultivating his acquaintance after this, suggested to him the undertaking a work which would alone have secured him a place in any library, even if he had not in latter years written those others, of a more popular character, on which his literary reputation principally rests.*

It was in the year 1794, during a summer residence in the Isle of Wight, at the house of his brother, at the early age of twenty-nine, and only five years after

* Through a communication kindly made to me by his nephew, the late George Ward, Esq., of Northwood, in the Isle of Wight, to whom I am also indebted for many other particulars of the early days and subsequent career of the subject of this memoir, I am informed that the original idea of writing on the "History of the Law of Nations" was suggested by Lord Eldon's brother, the great Lord Stowell, himself the great expounder of international law. It is therefore probable that it had been the subject of discussion between the brothers.

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he had been called to the bar, that Mr. Ward composed the work which, when published in the following spring, at once established the reputation of the as yet unknown lawyer. The nature of the work was characteristic of the man. Nothing can be more usual than for a young lawyer to attempt to make his way by the publication of a practical treatise, or, as it is called, text-book, upon some particular point of the law which he has been studying in the silent retreat of his chambers, and which he is anxious to be allowed to expound in public. It is, indeed, among the few modes left to young barristers, who may have no family connexion with the more influential attorneys, to make even a commencement towards distinction and practice. The book of Mr. Ward, however, was a type of his after-career; just enough of law to mark his connexion with the profession, to lend precision and to furnish a purpose for his philosophical imaginings,—history, not so much of events as of their causes and results, — and, lastly, a diligent spirit of inquiry and comparison, investing with interest that which might have been otherwise found to be but a series of dry disquisitions. He who should take up "Ward's Law of Nations" with the expectation of finding in it authoritative dicta upon any point in question, would be disappointed; while the lover of history, who might expect but a recapitulation of the maxims of international law, would be agreeably surprised at finding himself wandering (and wandering with profit) through the most flowery paths of the history of the middle ages.

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His connexion by parentage with Spain, the fate of whose treasure-ships had, in the time of the elder Pitt, depended, as they did afterwards in that of his son, upon the right mode of declaring and commencing war, —perhaps too his late residence in France, in which he was so near being the victim of a harsh, if not a wrong, construction of international law,—had given him a practical interest in the solution of that question. He had put together opinions and collected facts upon this subsidiary portion of the "Law of Nations," and had prepared for it a preliminary discourse. Eventually the charm of such disquisitions as his preface involved grew upon him. The vastness of this branch of his subject, as yet untouched by other writers, struck him more and more; its interest and novelty captivated him; his materials abounded as he consulted each fresh authority, and at length his "preliminary discourse" swelled into two goodly volumes, entitled "An Inquiry into the Foundation and History of the Law of Nations in Europe, from the Time of the Greeks and Romans to the Age of Grotius." The memoranda and arguments of the less speculative work which his preliminary disquisition was to have introduced were carefully put aside, and did him good service when, by an extraordinary coincidence, they were applicable to a somewhat similar combination of events in the time of the younger Pitt*, who dis-

* In October, 1803, when the Spanish treasure-ships were taken, and one of them unfortunately blown up in an action with a small English force, and before any formal declaration of war. This will be subsequently noticed.

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dained not to peruse as they passed through the press, and to give the benefit of his suggestions to, the arguments founded on materials so early and so laboriously collected.

His object in the "History of the Law of Nations" was to consider that obligation in general under which we conceive ourselves bound to obey a law, independent of those resources which the law itself provides for its own enforcement. In applying this to the law of nations, he was struck with the inherent deficiency in the nature of this obligation when applied to different nations governed by different codes of morals, or, to make use of a higher term, by different religions. He was then led to adopt the theory that the law of nations not only must be, but had been, of different application at different periods and among different nations. If his theory were true, it was evident that history should support it; and it was in the application of this test that his work had its origin.

"If the theory," as he says, "was a just one, as any class of nations would afford a proof of it, I set myself to a very serious examination of the history of the people of Europe (as that in which we are most interested); not with the old view of inquiring into their general manners and customs, their politics, their feats of arms, their arts, but with the design to get at the maxims which governed their intercourse together, at various times, and under various revolutions in their manners: and these I resolved to set forth in detail, as a supplement and proof of the theoretical reasoning which I have mentioned.

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"This arrangement, however, as must be evident, took in a subject so vast, that to treat of it properly would far surpass the bounds of a mere preliminary discourse. At the same time it appeared to me to be fully of as much, or perhaps of more consequence than the work which had originally given rise to it; and as professional occupations prevented me from finishing the whole, I resolved to abandon my first plan altogether, and to confine my attention to this other subject which had thus grown out of it. And well have I been repaid for the labour it has cost me; since my mind has been minutely occupied by a series of the most important and interesting subjects, of which before it had had but a general idea. For although very great masters have gone over all, or most of, the ground I have taken, before me, yet they have done so in a very different manner, and with far different objects. Thus, although the facts I have brought together in the historical part of the following pages have most of them long been known, and many of them form the materials of very popular histories, yet the view with which I came again to their contemplation made them appear to me in a new light; and although I had attended to most of them before, yet I acquired from them fresh entertainment, because they afforded me fresh instruction.

"The facts of history, indeed, lie open to every man's observation; and every man draws conclusions from them according as the bent of his mind, his professional pursuits, or any particular purpose, inclines him. In this respect history would be valuable, were

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it no more than a dry series of events, brought together with accuracy and clearness for philosophy to work upon. This in some measure has been the case. The first histories are short and rude, and *apparently* uninstructive, from the want of proper comments. In process of time, men have distinguished themselves, and done good to the world, by the use which their observation and judgment have made of them, and they then assume a variety of different and novel forms. Thus, from the same collection of facts, one has drawn a history of man; another, of the progress of society; a third, of the effects of climate; a fourth, of military achievements; a fifth, of laws in general; a sixth, of the laws of a particular state. But it has never yet been the fortune of the annals of the world (at least not within my knowledge) to produce from any commentator a History of the Laws of Nations.

"In this point of view, history may be compared to a vast and diversified country, which gives very different sorts of pleasure to different travellers, or to the same traveller if he visits it at different times. One travels to acquire a knowledge of men, another to survey the political resources of the state, another with a view to its commerce, another for mere pleasure; and the same people, the same cities, and the same institutions, will afford high and varied satisfaction, according to the spirit of mind in which they are viewed. If the comparison hold good, I should hope that little apology is necessary for bringing before the world many facts and cases already well known to it, but all the consequences of which are

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perhaps not so well known. Thus, for example, every one knows that Charlemagne renewed the Western Empire; that the Hanseatic League was a powerful commercial association; that the Queen of Scots was put to death by Elizabeth, contrary to justice; and that prisoners of war used to pay large sums for their liberty to those who took them. Yet those who have related all these things were not, perhaps, led to consider what relation they bore to the law of nations at the time when they happened; the real nature of the imperial title thus acquired by Charlemagne,—the question of the sovereignty of the Hanseatic Alliance,—the effects, as a precedent in point of law, of the case of Queen Mary,—nor the rules, public and private, by which the custom of ransom was governed.

"In the relation of any transaction, however, I have studiously avoided all those parts of it which did not appear to me to be directly relevant to the point immediately before me; and I have gone from one history and one age to another, and from one part of the same transaction to a different part of it, as it suited the inquiry I was upon, without staying to complete any account which I had begun when such completion was not necessary for the purpose with which I wrote."

This book earned immediate notice and approval from the critics. Those were more palmy days for deserving authors: the world, at least the English public, had time to peruse, and even to consider,

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works of labour and thought; the press was less prolific; circulating libraries were confined comparatively to the novel-reading class; and books which required not only perusal, but study, were admitted to the shelves of the politician or philosopher, to be digested, as well as devoured, in localities more quiet than the club drawing-room, and in periods of time less precisely measured than the week for octavo volumes of 400 pages and upwards, which the Procrustean regulations of book-societies permit.

The opinion of the critic in the "Annual Register" (then no mean authority) was most favourable. After giving a survey of the general conduct and nature of the inquiry, minute enough to satisfy the vanity of the young author, he concludes: "We think it written with method and clearness, that it is replete with various and extensive erudition, and that it bears throughout unequivocal marks of industry and ability."*

* Annual Register, 1795, p. 174.

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CHAP. III.

MR. WARD IN LONDON SOCIETY. — HIS PERSONAL APPEARANCE. — GREAT TALENT FOR MUSIC. — MUSICAL LANDLADY. — FIRST ATTACHMENT. — DISAPPOINTMENT CELEBRATED IN VERSE. — ACQUAINTANCE WITH MISS MALING, SISTER TO LADY MULGRAVE. — LETTERS FROM MR. WARD TO LORD MULGRAVE. — REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS. — AIR-GUN PLOT. — PROGRESS AT THE BAR. — GRADUAL INCREASE OF PRACTICE. — ARRANGEMENTS FOR CIRCUIT.

Not only did this learned work attract the attention of men out of his own profession, but its reputation paved the way for him even to the good graces of that sex with whom more especially '*omne ignotum pro magnifico est.*' Not that this was his only or his chief recommendation. Although not presented by dame Nature with regular features, — a point upon which he was the first to promote jokes against himself, — there was a *peculiar* brightness in his eye, an animation in his expression, a force in his speech, that could not fail of attraction; while the charm of his conversation was such, that he would have required much less than the half-hour claimed by Wilkes, to gain a preference over the handsomest man in the good graces of the fair sex. Added to all this, he had the most extraordinary musical genius; for, without having ever learnt a note of music, he would sit for hours at the piano-forte, either alone, or enchanting the ears of all present, pouring forth the most difficult passages, composed as he proceeded, in

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which the variety of treatment was not more remarkable than the brilliancy of execution and the connected relation which the whole bore to the original *motivo*. Even to extreme old age, until deafness cut off his appreciation of external sounds, this musical gift never left him; and, long after increasing years had stiffened the joints of some of his fingers, he could put to shame the most brilliant performances of younger players, though employed upon the productions of the great composers.

Upon one occasion, in later years, having requested a lady who had delighted him by the performance of rather a complicated piece, just introduced, to allow him a copy of it for the purpose of giving it to his daughters, the lady excused herself on the plea of having promised not to give it to any one. "I must submit, then, to the deprivation as well as I can," said he; "but I *think* it was something like this;" and, sitting down to the piano-forte, to the astonishment of the lady, showed himself to be already in possession of the forbidden piece. Another time, arriving at York in assize-week, he was informed at the inn that it was impossible to find rooms in the house for his party, and was requested to walk into the landlady's sitting-room for a short time, till inquiries were made elsewhere. Time rolled on: at length, tired of waiting, he sat himself down to a piano-forte which he spied in the corner of the room. He was in the midst of a brilliant march, and absorbed in its performance, when, on looking up, he perceived the landlady at his elbow. He started up, fearing to

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have given offence, but was requested to continue his performance, and informed, amidst enthusiastic praise of his *fantasia*, that accommodation for his large family party should be forthwith found in the house.

The period was now approaching in which this reputation and these accomplishments were to avail him much. He was about to contract a marriage which formed the happiness of nearly thirty years of his life, and which was the foundation of those political connexions which his own merits afterwards enabled him to continue and extend. The event to which we are coming was preceded, as is not uncommon, by a passing attachment, in which his passion was not returned. The contrast between the different powers of appreciating a man's merits, displayed by two ladies in succession, is never lost upon their object, though she who thus distinguished him required no such adventitious enhancement of her own deserts. His first attachment is only alluded to because it furnished the subject of two little poems, addressed to her who had thus enchained him. The first is perhaps little distinguished from the ordinary run of such productions; but the latter is curious as treating with much quaintness, and somewhat in the manner of the older poets, the imputation of coquetry, which was very possibly quite undeserved on the part of the lady. When ladies listen (as ladies will listen to the sparkling conversation of a good talker) with rapt attention, ever and anon fanning the fire of eloquence thus kindled by their charms, the heart

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is too often expected and supposed to partake of the general enthusiasm while far otherwise occupied. The first copy of verses, breathing nought but admiration, ran as follows: —

"Why does that speaking eye, whose soften'd fire,
Once darting bright intelligence around,
Taught us to love as well as to admire,
Now shun all other eyes, and court the ground?

Why does that foot, that once in airy measure
Rejoiced the dance's brilliant maze to tread,
Now fly with hurried steps its wonted pleasure,
For gloomy forest deep, or fountain-head?

Your hands are raised as if in soft devotion;
Pale passion dwells upon your beauteous cheek;
Your modest eye o'erflows with warm emotion;
Your sighs, a burning, aching mind bespeak.

Wonder not, Lady, at the powerful art
Which thus your bidden secret can divine,
For all the love and doubt that fill your heart,
Tho' long conceal'd, have long been felt in mine."

The second production of his Muse showed her to be by no means so good-humoured: —

"Blithe were the days, and short the hours,
When, fearless of deceit or harm,
With joy I own'd thy various powers,
Each outward grace, each mental charm.

For then, I own, I thought you fired
With melting love that equall'd mine;
And in that face, so oft admired,
Affection shone, or seem'd to shine.

On every word and look I hung,
Love rose in both, or seem'd to rise,
Gave sweeter music to your tongue,
And softer lustre to your eyes.

But now these thoughts were vain, you say;
And all the joy, so oft confess'd,
In one short month is pass'd away,
And love's a stranger to your breast.

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Shall I still feel your proud control,
And crowns of willow meanly wear,
Oh, no! the girl of wavering soul
Is scarcely worth a minute's care.

Rather your charms and magic art
With gay indifference will I view,
And careless ease shall fill the heart
That once could only beat for you.

I praised your manner, air, and grace,
Your gentleness and sense combined;
I praised your charming power of face,
And sweet propriety of mind.

But now, no more that air and grace
With the same vision can I see;
I view no beauty in that face,
Since now no more it smiles on me.

No more I'll heed that glancing eye,
Which took its fire from *love* alone;
That gone—I yield without a sigh
The hopes I now should blush to own.

I thought you *fair*, I thought you kind;
'Twas love that gave you half your power;
But *she* who never knows her mind,
Can only rule a passing hour."

It was after this temporary mortification, that the young lawyer made acquaintance in London with Miss Catherine Julia Maling, fourth daughter of Christopher Thompson Maling, a young lady of considerable personal attractions, and of a good family in Durham; and who had avoided the rustic manners which Madame de Stäel ascribes to the ladies of the far north in those days, by having passed the period of her early youth in France during the residence of her parents at Bethune. Their first meeting was at a London party; for, amid all the devotion to study which his lately published work betokened, he was not

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wanting in enthusiasm for the gayer scenes of West-End dissipation. The fact that so good a dancer, and so amusing a partner, could have written upon so unapproachable a subject, was matter of wonder to many a fair *débutante;* and, by one of them, his appearance, character, and manners, at this time, were thus described:—

"Mr. Ward's playing is astonishing; he cannot read a note of music, but plays airs and variations in the most masterly and capital style. He is amazingly clever, but not at all pedantic; and though *capable de grandes choses, peut s'abaisser aux petites.* We went to Ranelagh. I never saw such a crowd; it was absolutely a mob; but our party was delightful. I never met with so sensible and entertaining a companion, and I had some opportunity of judging. . . . . He has travelled all over France and England; is a man of great observation and general knowledge. He has written a very clever book, though so young, which would do credit to any author. He does not, however, pride himself on these merits, but wisely doubles their value by his *peu de prétention.*"

His acquaintance with Miss Maling, begun in such scenes, and continued during her stay in London, was further improved at Harrowgate, where her family were staying. Another of her sisters, Sophia, late Countess Dowager of Mulgrave, was about to be united to the late Earl of Mulgrave, who had just before that time * succeeded to the title and estates

* Henry, Lord Mulgrave, had succeeded to the estates and Irish barony of his brother Constantine, on the 10th of October, 1792; and having been created an English Baron, 1794, addressed the House of

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of Mulgrave. The position of Robert Ward was far different, he could make up but little in the way of settlements; but his talents were acknowledged, his prospects promising, and his character unexceptionable: so that it was agreed, that, some months after the marriage of the elder sister with Lord Mulgrave, the younger should be also united to the object of her choice. During the interval before Lord Mulgrave's marriage, the whole family party were assembled at West Herrington, in Durham; and a close intimacy and friendship sprang up between Mr. Ward and Lord Mulgrave, which was never interrupted afterwards. In Lord Mulgrave he had a friend who not only appreciated his character and talents, but had the power and inclination to afford them an opportunity of being appreciated by others: the vivacity of his spirits, and the enthusiasm of his character, were admired and (where necessary) tempered by the greater experience of his new connexion.

The marriage of Miss Maling with Lord Mulgrave took place in October, and at Christmas Mr. Ward joined the assembled family party at Mulgrave; where the kindness of his new connexions had already been engaged in devising schemes of building, for the residence of the young barrister and his bride, a country house on a beautiful corner of the estate. He was, however, reserved for a more active life; and Roxby Hall, with all its perfections of quiet enjoyment, and

Lords, on the 30th of December in that year, on the question of the Peace, in a speech described by Lord Grenville as "the most brilliant first appearance in that House that, perhaps, ever was remembered."

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sociable propinquity to Mulgrave, was destined to progress no further than the detailed plans of the architect who had designed it.

He was now pursuing his profession with great eagerness, having made up his mind to change from the Western Circuit, which he had first joined, to the Northern, which his new connexions would make it more agreeable for him to attend. The following extracts from a letter written at this time to Lord Mulgrave, will show that he did not confine his studies to points of practice, but rather directed them *par préférence* into those paths in which it is permitted to the young student to dally with politics:—

"Were it not for the cause of it, I should be delighted to see you soon in town. But I think I know enough of affairs, and observe enough of the public mind, not to expect you. If all the motive you have is the wish (patriotic as it may be) to give effect to the measures, so strong (but so necessary) now in agitation, I think we may rest assured that we shall not see you. As far as I can judge, democracy, and that *no* party which has received its death's blow by uniting with it, are upon their last legs. I speak not this from the certainty of the power of ministers to carry these bills through the Houses; nor even from the great military force which they have at their back,—for, God forbid that there should long be a majority of the Parliament against the majority of the people, or that the citizen should be governed by the soldier! But I speak it from the persuasion I have of the equal distribution of property in the

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country, the consequent wishes of by far the greater proportion against the attempts of a faction, the fears of that faction itself, and the prostration (if I may so call it) into which what might have been made a respectable opposition has fallen. When I saw Fox on Monday deriving additional consequence from the society and support of citizens Thelwall and Jones, I could not help exclaiming with myself, — 'If thou be'st he! But, oh! how fallen!' This meeting was their grand struggle, and about four or five thousand people met. Of these not four or five hundred held up their hands, the rest were either neutral or adverse spectators. Judge whether so ridiculous a pageant, such knaves or such mountebanks, are to govern this realm. For my own part, I do all I can to come at a knowledge of the public opinion; and I have no hesitation to say, — not with Lady Fairfax, 'not a tenth part of them,' — but not a hundredth part of the people are adverse to the constitution.

"Yet the impudence or fanaticism of a few might have bred disturbance, had it not been for this second coalition of the party who, I apprehend, have made the price of their junction depend upon their abstaining from riots which they knew would do them harm; so no thanks to them! I know your lordship would think of these bills as most honest, as all unprejudiced people have thought of them; and if anything were necessary in addition to the proofs of the intentions of the lecturers and associated bodies, take what I understand from magistrates to be the evidence against Crossfield respecting the air-gun

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plot. It seems he absconded the moment it became public, and, attempting to escape abroad in some merchant-vessel, he was taken by the French. When this happened he expressed the liveliest joy, boasted that the English government would give a thousand pounds for him, and, upon his arrival at Brest, was better treated than the others, and had one or two conferences with two members of the Convention. He then was heard to boast that he knew the King had been shot at that winter ('94) in his way from St. James's to Buckingham House, but missed; but that he would soon be taken off by a poisoned arrow from an air-gun. The captain or mate of the vessel, and four sailors, swear to this point, and they are bound over to give evidence on his trial. What is the evidence to the treason I know not, for this does not amount to sufficient proof, though it may be given to prove collateral facts; but the affair shows what the London Corresponding Society mean. But I feel plunged at once into the politics of state, when I meant to have confined myself chiefly to those of the house of Mulgrave."

The patience of the young lawyer was to be no more tried by delays; and on the 2d of April, 1796, his marriage with Miss Catherine Maling having taken place in London, he went to pass the honied period which even an industrious young lawyer may claim on such an occasion, at a small cottage near Windsor Forest.

United to the object of his choice, earnestly devoted to his profession, in which his talents obtained

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neither more nor less than the usual amount of discouragement ordinarily attendant upon the commencement of this uncertain pursuit, the next four or five years of his life would furnish little of interest to the general reader. The following short extracts from letters of this period, furnish the description of a life happy, indeed, and creditable to his industry and energy, but not requiring to be followed in much detail: —

"Ward is at Westminster, and *talks* of studying in his own room every evening. He is forming a thousand good and prudent resolutions, and determines *dès demain* to begin to lay up a fortune."

By the end of 1796 his progress towards London business had been favourable; indeed, contrary to the usual course of events, it had exceeded that which he had made on his circuit. The first extract, however, speaks of "his Brief" in a way to indicate that at that time it had no "lovely companions:" —

"Ward is gone off to court with his Brief in his pocket. I hope he will have a good deal of business this term; he must fag hard."

The next two are still more promising: —

"Ward's head is stuffed full of Briefs; he is this morning arguing a cause at Westminster. Briefs come in apace, and his eagerness and steadiness increase in proportion to the great encouragement he meets with. *We* have made fifteen guineas by them the last fortnight."

"Business pours in every day, and new Briefs are announced, so that, instead of *fifty*, he intends to make

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sixty guineas before he leaves town. I wish that he may have something on the circuit. . . . . He has a prospect of a good harvest this term: he is just returned from Westminster with three causes in view, not exactly three briefs in his pocket; but if they are not amicably settled (*which I trust they will not be*), he is to have them."

The circuit had now arrived, and brought a share of briefs sufficient to prevent the serious drain upon slender finances which it most commonly entails upon the young lawyer. He was retained for the defence of a young soldier, whose trial for murder excited much interest at the time; and, while his young wife passed an agreeable period with her sister at Mulgrave Castle, encountered by himself the usual mixture of weariness and excitement which falls to the lot of a rising barrister, with some local advantages at different intervals, in a six weeks' circuit.

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CHAP. IV.

RIVAL ATTRACTIONS OF LAW AND POLITICS. — AN "OPPORTUNITY" AND ITS CONSEQUENCES. — UNEXPECTED RECOGNITION OF A CLIENT. — LETTER FROM CARLISLE. — INTRODUCTION TO POLITICS. — PAMPHLET ON THE LAW OF NEUTRALS. — LETTER FROM LORD MULGRAVE ON PITT'S RESIGNATION. — LORD GRENVILLE AND SIR W. SCOTT ON MR. WARD'S PAMPHLET. — DISAPPOINTMENT AS TO EXPECTED OFFICE ABROAD. — LORD MULGRAVE'S LETTER THEREON. — LORD GRENVILLE TO LORD MULGRAVE ON THE PRELIMINARIES OF PEACE. — MR. WARD ENTERS PARLIAMENT. — LETTERS FROM MR. PITT OFFERING HIM A SEAT.

It is unnecessary to follow further in detail a course of life which was continued without any events of public interest into the commencement of the new century. To the London and circuit practice, before alluded to, he had added a very profitable branch of business, viz., appeals before the Privy Council, or, as it was then called, the "Cockpit." To this his intimate acquaintance with the law of nations would no doubt have introduced him, and he continued it with an interest he could be hardly said to feel in his other pleadings. To say the truth, notwithstanding the encouragement he had received in his profession, greater than generally falls to the lot of its more enthusiastic disciples, he felt for it an every day increasing distaste. His health, always liable to sudden interruption, and ever requiring free air and exercise, was affected by the study and confinement

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it entailed; his mind, ever active, indeed, and persevering, but sighing for independence of action and variety of food, was uneasy when in harness; above all, a more absorbing interest, viz. the love of politics, had taken thorough possession of him.

It is very rare that a clever lawyer, particularly if endowed with great conversational powers, and furnished with opportunities of mixing in the highest society, does not devote himself passionately to the consideration of political questions, and become ultimately attached to one of the great parties of the day.

In the conversation of the society with which he mixes, amid much that is merely frivolous, almost the only abstract subjects admitted are the political arrangements of the day. The only questions on which a difference of opinion, earnestly expressed and eloquently maintained, is not considered as an intolerable infringement upon the dull uniformity of polished life, are those which divide Whigs and Tories, by whatever names they may from time to time be known. There is hardly a single one of such topics that can be discussed without touching upon some familiar chord in the lawyer's memory, involving some argument that has been treasured up among the weapons of his warfare, and requiring just that precision of language, that logical succession of argument, and that coolness in disputation, to which his habits have more particularly accustomed him. To ay that, notwithstanding this, discussions on such matters are constantly carried on without precision,

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logic, or temper, is only to recal to recollection some of the most tiresome and unprofitable moments that any of us can remember to have passed.

The difficulty of making any progress in the legal profession was then not so great as now. The race was then, as now, not always to the strong, but the competitors were not so numerous as to block up the course: then, as now, attorneys would advance (where it was possible) a son or a connexion in preference to the most gifted "stranger in blood;" but the customs of the day, and the state of education, generally consigned such connexions to their own branch of the profession. The claims of relationship, therefore, were, if not less fully recognised, certainly less constant, and not so sure to clash. Still was there, even in those days, ample opportunity for the practice of perseverance under discouragement, and equanimity in disappointment; and it was in the more halcyon days of the profession that barristers were, in nature as well as in name, likened to medlers, inasmuch as, after long years of consuming study, they are no sooner ripe than they are rotten.

Long after he had left the Bar, Mr. Ward used to relate one of those instances of disappointed expectations which cloud the prospects and damp the ardour of the young aspirant. He had attended the Spring Assizes of the Northern Circuit. In those times of slow coaches and bad roads, the days consumed in travelling to the far north at this inclement season, and the expense of posting from town to town, to maintain the dignity of the Bar, — in short, the loss

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of time and money, when compared with the small amount of business to be done, — presented to the seniors of the Bar sufficient reasons to justify their absenting themselves in winter altogether from this portion of the circuit; pursuing meanwhile, with more profit and less labour, their London business. A great advantage of this arrangement was, the chance of distinction it offered to the juniors. Upon the occasion to which we are alluding, Mr. Ward had been retained as counsel in a case of considerable importance. His leader (*proximus at longo proximus intervallo* to the great men who were absent in London) was taken ill at the last moment. The conduct of the cause devolved upon Mr. Ward. Here was one of those opportunities which the sanguine young lawyer has read of, longs for, but hardly dares to hope. He improved it to the utmost — outdid himself in learning and argument, gained the cause, received the thanks of the before affrighted solicitor, drank in with greedy ears most flattering remarks from many others, and left court full of happiness and hope. Next circuit was the summer. The absent leaders again made their appearance; their invalid substitute was once more in full vigour, and "I got," said Mr. Ward, "not a single brief, nor so much as a nod of recognition from my grateful client!" Upon another occasion he was repaid by thanks that were somewhat ill-timed. He had defended a prisoner at York, for horse-stealing, at that time a capital offence, and one in which, if many horses happened to have been lately missing, the law

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was, according to the policy of the day, not unfrequently allowed to take its course. No speech was then permitted for the defence; but, by a cross-examination, now cautious, now puzzling, now insinuating, and by occasional observations thrown out, in the course of it, according to the then most approved fashion, he managed to make such an impression on the jury, that they acquitted his client. After the assizes he had to travel by a stage-coach on his way home. The first person he saw, seated just opposite to him, was he for whom he had made such exertions. The acquitted felon grasped both his hands with fervour: "I'se mooch obloiged to you, Coonsellor Ward," said he; "I'se mooch obloiged to you—boot," winking his eye, he added, "I doot I was guilty though!"

A time was now approaching in which his passion for politics was to be gratified to his heart's content. This was to be effected at first, indeed, in a manner that formed an easy transition from—nay, which even boasted a connecting link with—the profession he was pursuing; and afterwards by an event which would have kindled the interest of the most indifferent. A question had, toward the end of 1800, been revived which was of European importance, and promised to have more influence than any other on the fortune of the war,—I mean "the rights of Maritime Neutrals;" the extent to which their asserted claim, that "free goods make free bottoms," could be allowed or opposed; and whether the search and detainer of the ships of neutral powers, under convoy of their own ships of

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war, could be justified. This question was not now raised for the first time. Prussia alone, in 1746, had put forward her claims, and raised her complaints, embodied in 1752 in the memorial to the Duke of Newcastle which produced that masterly reply from the pen of Lord Mansfield, so truly characterised by Montesquieu as "*réponse sans réplique*," and by Vattel as "*un excellent morceau de Droit de Gens.*" In 1757 the whole subject had been most ably discussed by Mr. Jenkinson (afterwards Lord Liverpool), in a treatise full of learning and talent*; and again, in 1780, it had been the foundation of a convention between France, Spain, and the Northern Powers. In 1796 the former power attempted to revive it on the part of the Americans, who, however, with a noble regard to justice and fair dealing, disclaimed the accusations against England for the exercise of her rights, in these memorable words: — "The captures made by the British, of American vessels having French property on board, are warranted by the law of nations. Neither our weakness nor our strength have any choice, when the question concerns the observance of a known rule of the law of nations."

The question was, however, now again raised in a manner, and at a time, most menacing to England at the end of 1799. Towards the close of that year a dispute with respect to a seizure took place with Sweden; but for some time no symptoms

* Discourse on the Conduct of Great Britain with respect to Neutral Nations.

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showed themselves of any general combination among the Northern Powers on the subject. In December, however, a Danish frigate, under Van Dockum, in charge of a convoy, was stopped off Gibraltar by the English. The Dane refused to submit to a search (except under compulsion), and was in consequence brought into Gibraltar. On the part of the English captain, acting under orders from his government, there was the greatest possible desire to avoid giving unnecessary offence; and the Danish captain was permitted to return to his ship, on undertaking to submit himself to the decision of an Admiralty Court. Disclaiming, however, any such arrangement, he sailed off, and escaped with his convoy. Remonstrances were made from the English government to that of Denmark, with reference to the Danish captain's conduct; and then it was that the famous Bernstorff, her minister at that time, tried to turn the tables by putting forth a declaration of what he considered as the rights of neutrals *under convoy*, and claimed, *on his part*, to have redress from England for the insult to a Danish man-of-war.* Nothing could be more unpromising than the tone of the correspondence: for, while on the one part Mr. Merry, the British Minister at Copenhagen, declared himself "specially commissioned" to "*demand*

* He drew a distinction between vessels under convoy or not. His argument was, that the right of search only arose from the necessity for verifying the flag by inspection of the papers, which verification would be rendered unnecessary by the convoy of a man-of-war of a neutral nation, whose presence guarantees not only the flag, but also the absence of the munitions of war.

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disavowal, apology, and reparation," Bernstorff replied that his Danish Majesty had to "*insist* on the reparation due to him." At a moment when considerable profits were derived by neutrals for the conveyance (when they could escape detection) of what is technically called "contraband of war," things could not long remain without further aggravation: while the correspondence was still going on between the two governments, another Danish frigate, under Captain Krabbe, was taken, with her convoy, at the north of the Channel, after showing fight most gallantly against a superior force in opposition to the right of search. Lord Whitworth was now sent out, backed by a squadron of war, to endeavour to come to some arrangement; and at length was concluded the convention of the 29th August, 1800. By this convention the right to search neutral vessels under convoy was "referred to future discussion;" but the frigate of the gallant Captain Krabbe, after being repaired at the expense of England, was restored. The object in view on both sides was to postpone the discussion and final settlement of the general questions which had given rise to these events. Their solution, however, was not to be so postponed, but formed the cause, or at least the pretext, for the threatened union of all the northern courts against the principle which was acted upon, at the period, by both the great contending powers. Such a union, however, though nominally against both, was in effect against the stronger of the two great maritime powers, viz. England, and, as a con-

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sequence, in favour of the weaker one, France. It was upon this subject, and in reply to the assertion of Prussia that England had "arbitrarily framed a naval code which did not agree with the true principles of the Law of Nations," that the pen of Robert Ward was to be exercised; not in a mere pamphlet, to support the views of one set of parliamentary chiefs against the other, but in a well-considered treatise on international law, which was to appeal, not to the passions, but the judgment, of the reader,—not to the party-men of Brookes' or White's, but to the civil jurists of Europe. Throughout the latter part of the year 1800 he had been busy in the preparation of this treatise. He had undertaken it by the express desire of Lord Grenville, and it was on the eve of completion when that sudden change took place in the Government at whose desire it had been undertaken, which signalised the commencement of 1801. The last debate before the change, indeed the only debate of the session, on the address, had in both Houses been almost entirely occupied with the discussion of this international question. In the Upper House, Lords Grenville and Mulgrave had spoken, and Lord Eldon had deemed it a fitting subject for his first effort after being made a peer. In the House of Commons, Grey and Pitt were opposed to each other, the latter being ably supported by the Attorney-General. Greater events, however, came crowding in, by which the master-mind of Lord Grenville was no longer to direct our foreign relations. It was on the 9th of February that the following letter was written by

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Lord Mulgrave to his younger brother, who was at that time staying for his health at Madeira. As doubts have often been expressed as to what was Pitt's real motive in breaking up the government at this moment, I give it as affording an account (written at the time with no such view) of what were understood to be his motives, by one so intimately connected with Mr. Pitt by private friendship and political alliance as was Lord Mulgrave.

Lord Mulgrave to the Hon. Augustus Phipps.

"Harley Street, Feb. 9. 1801.

"My dear Augustus,

"I cannot omit writing to you upon the great public event which has taken place, although I am in doubt whether you will not have left Madeira before this letter can arrive. The event to which I allude is the resignation of Mr. Pitt, Lord Grenville, Mr. Dundas, Lord Spencer, and Mr. Wyndham, and the appointment of Mr. Addington (the Speaker) to be the First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. The other offices are not yet filled, or not yet declared. The occasion of this great change was, a difference between the King and his Ministers on the measure of granting full civil privileges to the Roman Catholics in Ireland and to the Dissenters in this country. Mr. Pitt thought these measures a necessary and important consequence of the union of the two kingdoms. The grounds of opposition to this, however to be lamented, cannot but be respected, on account of the motive which suggests them. Having always been of opinion that the admission of the

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Catholics to these privileges was desirable, when it could be effected with safety, although I have no great partiality to the political principles of English Dissenters, I shall of course adhere to the grounds upon which the five ex-Cabinet Ministers act; and am not disposed to take any part in the new government, though Mr. Pitt and the rest are resolved to give it every support as individuals, except upon the question where the difference of opinion exists. I do not venture to trust all that I think, express, and feel upon this business to a letter. You will judge, perhaps, as well as I could express it, all that may be thought upon such an event. I can only say, that during seventeen years' political existence in Parliament I never have looked to profit or power, or have ever hinted a wish for either; but that I have always acted to the best of my judgment, and according to the impulse of my feelings, for the public good. I never shall or can be actuated by any other motive, or labour to any other end. The times are now becoming such that every man must judge for himself, and trace his own path to the intricate and doubtful point of national prosperity."

It is well known that, from delays connected with the King's health, although Lord Hawkesbury was gazetted to succeed Grenville so early as the 20th of February, it was not till the 9th of March that the changes of administration were finally completed. Meantime, so great had been the pressure upon Mr. Ward to get at least a portion of his arguments on the great question of the Armed Neutrality before the

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public, that he determined to publish the first part before the rest, leaving the whole subject to be completed in an after-publication.

Even the excitement of political changes could not destroy the interest of a treatise * which, though professedly on an abstract question of an abstruse nature, was susceptible of immediate application. As soon as the first part was published, its author received, among many other letters, the two following, which must have been sufficiently flattering to a young lawyer, of no great public eminence, on his return from his circuit.

Lord Grenville to R. Ward, Esq.

"Dropmore, April 2. 1801.†

"Dear Sir,

"I waited only till the circuit was over (not knowing where to direct to you), to express how much I have been gratified by the manner in which you have executed the work which you had the goodness to undertake at my suggestion. I knew before that it could not be in any hands more able to do justice to the subject; and I can with great sincerity assure you, that my expectations have been fully justified by the result. I earnestly hope that you will have time and leisure to complete it, though I should have been very sorry if you had delayed the

* A Treatise on the Relative Rights and Duties of Belligerent and Neutral Powers, in Maritime Affairs. By Robert Ward, Esq., Barrister at Law.

† The very day when the still more convincing arguments of Nelson virtually decided the question at the battle of Copenhagen.

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publication of this part, which in the present moment is the most important.

"Lord Mulgrave has had the goodness to give me your direction, by which I am enabled to express these sentiments to you earlier than I should otherwise have been able to do, and to assure you of the very great esteem and regard with which I am, dear Sir, your most faithful and obedient humble servant,

"GRENVILLE."

From Sir W. Scott to R. Ward, Esq.

"Wick, Monday.

"Dear Sir,

"My absence from town, to which I did not return till Monday night, prevented my receiving the favour of your obliging letter. As your book had already, I presume, been given to the public before that day (at least so I collect from the advertisement in the papers), it would be too late to suggest any alteration, if it even appeared proper; but I have met with nothing in the perusal that is not perfectly warrantable in itself, and highly creditable to its author.

"I am indebted to you greatly for the obliging expressions that occur in your dedication to my brother.

"Dear Sir, yours faithfully,

"W. SCOTT."

At the time the compliments alluded to in the last letter were addressed to Sir William Scott and his brother, the latter was only Chief Justice of the Common Pleas; but the late change in the administration had carried him to the distinguished post

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in which it was in his power, as it had long been in his desire, to show some more substantial marks of his interest in the young lawyer, who had on three different occasions attracted his attention to his spirit and talent.

Two colonial appointments became vacant, the one as Judge of the Admiralty Court in Nova Scotia, the other in the West Indies. To the former, besides the salary, there was secured a retiring pension of 1000*l.* a year (subject to the heavy deductions of a war budget) after six years' service. The doubts of the intended object of his favourable mention were many, the time for decision short, the claimants on the new Government numerous. On the one hand, an income of 1000*l.* a year for a man of circumscribed means, with an increasing family, seemed cheaply purchased by a six years' exile; but on the other, the giving up for such a sum the profession which he had devoted so many of the best years of his early life, nay, even the leaving England at a moment when his whole thoughts were absorbed by the stirring events that were going on both at home and abroad, involved considerations not to be lightly disregarded. The West Indies must be out of the question; he was assured that he would, from such a climate, never return to claim his retiring allowance. *That* must not be thought of; even his wife, who was ready to follow him to any spot, and for any object that was clearly for his good, was alarmed for *him* when the West Indies were mentioned. A seasonable attack of illness increased his prudent scruples; while he was

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doubting, others were pressing, and his decision was formed for him by the intelligence that the place was given away. Thus was he shut out from a change that would have affected the whole course of his after-life, and closed thus early a promising career.

He had not ventured to consult Lord Mulgrave; he knew too well what that firm friend would have advised; and in fact, when the place was given away, received, what he afterwards acknowledged to be, well-founded congratulations on his disappointment, accompanied, however, by an invitation to Mulgrave Castle, to recruit his health and restore his spirits.

During Mr. Ward's stay there, an interchange of letters had taken place between Lord Grenville and Lord Mulgrave, upon the subject of the terms of the peace just arranged, which forms a key to the opinions and the views of the Grenville as distinct from the Pitt party, as they were afterwards expressed and acted upon by him. It is so much the custom of the contemporary critic, and even of the less prejudiced historian, to ascribe personal motives to the conduct of party men, even upon questions on which it is impossible they should not have a strong opinion, that it is important to be able to exhibit these two, who from this time belonged to the two different sections into which Mr. Pitt's party afterwards became divided, preceding that division by a calm and friendly comparison of their views upon this the first great question that separated them. It will be seen that Lord Grenville looked merely to the necessity for condemning the terms of the treaty already settled.

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Lord Mulgrave, on the other hand, considering the treaty as *un fait accompli*, was, in a long reply which he addressed to him, more influenced by the further evil consequences he anticipated for the country, from that displacement of the Ministers which any combined condemnation of their acts must bring about.

I shall precede this correspondence by two letters which had passed between Mr. Pitt and Lord Mulgrave, in which the terms of the peace are fully detailed and commented on.

The Right Honourable W. Pitt to Lord Mulgrave.

"Park Place, Wednesday.

"Dear Mulgrave,

"You would learn from to-day's Gazette, that our long suspense is at length terminated, and that preliminaries of peace were signed yesterday evening. As you will naturally be anxious to know the terms, I inclose a short statement of all that are material; they will of course not be published at length till after the ratification. I cannot help regretting the Cape of Good Hope, though I know many great authorities do not attach to it the same importance that I do. In other respects I think the treaty very advantageous, and on the whole satisfactory; and the stipulations in favour of our allies are peculiarly creditable. I shall be very happy to find that it strikes you in the same view.

"Ever sincerely yours,

"W. PITT."

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[Paper inclosed in the foregoing.]

"Great Britain retains the islands of Ceylon in the East Indies, and Trinidad in the West, restoring all the other French, Spanish, and Dutch possessions, but with a stipulation that the Cape is to remain a free port. Malta is to be independent both of Great Britain and France, and to be restored to the Order of Jerusalem, under the protection of a third power to be agreed upon. Egypt is to be restored to the Porte, whose dominions, as well as those of Naples and Portugal, with some inconsiderable exceptions, are guaranteed in their full integrity as they stood before the war. Naples and Rome are to be evacuated by the French troops, and Porto Ferrajo by the English."

Lord Mulgrave to the Right Honourable W. Pitt.

[No date.]

"Dear Pitt,

"I return you many thanks for your obliging attention in sending me the substance of the terms of peace, which I should else have waited for with anxious impatience. The best that can be said of them is, that their moderation is such as not to be likely to create any feelings of regret or humiliation, which might provoke an early renewal of hostilities on the part of France. It is impossible not to regret Malta and the Cape, though the latter has often been represented to me by East Indians as of very little importance in time of peace. Ceylon certainly is an acquisition of the first importance in every point of

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view; and the manly, dignified, and liberal policy which has secured to the three weakest powers of Europe the integrity of their dominions, in recompense for their steady adherence to us, may, perhaps, counterbalance in reputation the solid increase of influence and power which France has acquired by the result of the war. The subject is too large for a letter. The impression made by our operations in the Baltic, the Russian guarantee of Malta, &c. &c., are all considerations in the general political view of the subject, though not in the Dr. and Cr. account of the treaty: the more or less of nominal territory is nothing if our countervailing power and importance in the system of Europe is still a sufficient check upon the objects and efforts of France. I have not been in the habit of differing from you on political subjects for the last seventeen or eighteen years, and I have no doubt that we shall not entertain very opposite opinions on this business when we meet and talk it over.

"Ever yours sincerely,

"MULGRAVE."

Lord Grenville to Lord Mulgrave.

"Stowe, Oct. 13. 1801.

"My dear Mulgrave,

"Long before this letter reaches you, the preliminaries of peace, such as they are now published to the world, will have engaged your attention, and your judgment will probably be in great degree

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formed upon them. What that judgment may be I know not, but I think I owe it to our friendship not to delay expressing to you those impressions which they have produced on my mind, and the resolution to which those impressions will probably lead.

"Although the present Government had, as I originally understood, accepted their situations with the intention of pursuing the same system of measures which they had supported individually in the hands of their predecessors, yet, from some symptoms I had observed, particularly in the conduct and issue of the negotiation with the Northern Powers, I was prepared to expect a greater disposition to concession in treating with France than I had ever been able to consider as advantageous or safe for the public interests.

"But I confess that the extent of what is now ceded to France goes so much beyond those expectations, and the consequent insecurity of the situation in which we shall be left appears to me to be productive of such extreme hazard to the country, that I cannot think I should be justified in concealing these opinions, especially as it is only by impressing Parliament and the public with a just sense of the danger that there is any hope of leading them to think at all of those measures of precaution and preparation which such a situation indispensably requires.

"Nothing can be further from my wishes (even if I had, in other respects, the least pretence to attempt it) than the influencing on this subject the opinions

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of any other persons. I have the misfortune, on this point, to differ completely from Mr. Pitt, with whom I have so long agreed on all questions relating to it. I may also possibly, or even probably, differ from others whose opinions I value highly; but with so strong an impression on my own mind, upon a matter which so nearly concerns the merit or demerit of all my past conduct, and in which the future safety of the country is so much interested, I cannot but act on the best judgment of my own mind.

"What your opinions are, I know not, and have no grounds to conjecture; but, in this difference of opinion between two persons whom you have jointly supported in public, and to both of whom you are attached by private friendship, I thought I owed to you an early and explicit statement of the fact.

"I expect to see Pitt next week at Dropmore, but I have no hope that discussion can bring us nearer in opinion on this subject, although nothing, I trust, will ever alter our intimate friendship. When you come to town, or its neighbourhood, I shall be most anxious to converse with you on the whole business.

"Ever, dear Mulgrave, most truly yours,

"G."

It is well known, that when the debate upon the terms of the peace came on, the address thereon received the unanimous assent of the House of Commons, where the talents of Pitt and Fox were united in its favour; so that the minister, when his own turn came, began by professing that all his arguments

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had been anticipated by his eloquent defenders. It will be remembered, too, that in the House of Lords, when Lord Grenville pursued the line he had announced beforehand, he was left in a minority of ten, though supported (even on a question of peace or war) by the exertions of the Bishop of Rochester.

In this, as in many other instances, the decision of the majority cannot be very confidently defended as the most wise. The preliminaries of peace were soon found to possess those elements of weakness and disunion which its few but eloquent opposers had indicated; while the Ministry, whose *continuance* had been one motive for treating gently their incapacity and weakness in negotiation, quickly managed to display so openly the same qualities in the maintenance of what they had thus procured, that their most indulgent excusers could not remain blind.

Early in 1802, Mr. Ward was destined to meet with another slip between the cup and the lip, in the failure of an application in his favour, which is noticed in the following letter, written while steadily following his profession at the Spring Assizes at Durham.

R. Ward, Esq., to Lord Mulgrave.

"Durham, April 20. 1802.

"My dear Lord,

"I have had sent me Lord Chatham's letter to your Lordship, by which I see all the affectionate interest you have taken for me, and for which I thank you

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as much even as I ought. The event of the application is only what I expected, though I thought it but right, if you had no objection, to put myself in the way of fortune. As it is, therefore, I am not in the least disappointed, and think of nothing in the affair but the kindness and zeal of my good friend, which if it has put him to no inconvenience on the score of delicacy and independence, I am left perfectly satisfied. It is nothing new to say, that it is my most just and chief pride to possess your affection and good opinion; and so (while I hear an attorney asking for Counsellor Ward), I heartily wish your Lordship a good night,

"Being ever gratefully and affectionately yours,

"R. WARD."

For these, however, and all other disappointments, he was amply consoled by an offer of a seat in Parliament from Mr. Pitt himself, written in his own hand, the day before the dissolution of the first United Parliament. Well might a young lawyer be proud at receiving, in rapid succession, two such letters as the following, from the greatest man in the country; letters, too, carrying internal evidence that it was by his own particular desire, or at all events with his own eager co-operation, that this opportunity of entering upon public life was afforded to one who had already shown such capacity for it. If a smile should be caused by the frankness and simplicity with which the nomination, on the part of a peer of the realm, is alluded to, it must be viewed as a type

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of the times; and it may well be wished that no worse use had ever been made of the privilege. It may here, too, be unreservedly stated, from the evidence of a long and frequent correspondence, that nothing could be more liberal, and less exacting, than the connexion between Lord Lonsdale and this one among his many nominee members.

Right Honourable William Pitt to R. Ward, Esq.

"Park Place, Monday, June 28. 1802.

"Sir,

"I wrote to Lord Mulgrave on Friday, from Walmer Castle, to mention to him that Lord Lowther had had the goodness to offer to name a member, at my recommendation, for the borough of Cockermouth, for the first three years of the Parliament; after which he wishes to reserve it for his nephew, Lord Burghersh. I also stated to him, that I hoped to be released from the only claim which could prevent my having the satisfaction of proposing you to him as a candidate, if it should be agreeable to you. The election will, I understand, be free from trouble, and from any but a very trifling expense; and, though less satisfactory than one for the whole Parliament, I am in hopes it will appear to you too eligible to decline. I have therefore thought it best, as Lord Mulgrave is out of town and as the time presses, to state these particulars to yourself. I am just setting out to Short Grove, in my way to Cambridge; and if you could possibly let me hear from you on the subject

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by to-day's post, I shall be much obliged to you, as Lord Lowther is waiting my answer.

"I am, Sir,

"Your faithful and obedient servant,

"W. PITT.

"My direction for to-day's post is, Joseph Smith's, Esq., Short Grove, Saffron Walden; and afterwards, Pembroke Hall, Cambridge."

Right Honourable W. Pitt to R. Ward, Esq.

"Cambridge, June 30. 1802.

"Sir,

"I was happy to receive your letter this morning, and have in consequence written to Lord Lowther to express my wishes to avail myself, in your favour, of his kind offices at Cockermouth. It affords me, on every account, great pleasure to be instrumental in recommending you to a seat of this description, and I am very glad to find that the circumstances attending it make it so satisfactory to you. I take for granted, you will immediately hear from Lord Lowther; but, perhaps, at any rate, you may think it right to lose no time in calling upon him in Cavendish Square. I am, Sir,

"Your faithful and obedient servant,

"W. PITT."

From this time, politics, which had always attracted his interest, almost exclusively occupied his time. The same pen to which we have already been

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indebted, informs us, soon after his election, "Ward dines with a political party. He will be a mad politician. They have absolutely taken possession of him already. He is never without a parliamentary book in his hand."

His profession, to which he had never been sincerely attached, could make but a feeble struggle against such a formidable rival. True, he still possessed and practised perseverance; but the excitement of politics, and even the greater profit of the Privy Council practice, which was not incompatible with Parliament, but constantly interfered with assizes and sessions, were sad temptations to him to risk, by irregular attendance, the loss of that harvest which on the Northern Circuit he had so long been preparing.

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CHAP. V.

ARRANGEMENTS AMONG CERTAIN OF PITT'S FRIENDS FOR HIS RETURN TO POWER.—LETTERS BETWEEN MR. WARD AND LORD MULGRAVE THEREON.—LORD MULGRAVE TO MR. PITT, AND EXPLANATIONS TO MR. WARD AS TO THE EXTENT OF COMMUNICATIONS.—LORD LOWTHER TO MR. WARD.—LORD MULGRAVE FROM BATH.—MR. WOOD GIVES ACCOUNTS OF PROGRESS AND ABANDONMENT OF THE "PAPER PROJECT."—REFLECTIONS THEREON.

EVENTS had been brewing, in the last two months of this year, sufficient to captivate the fancies and engross the thoughts of the young politician, to the exclusion of every other subject.

Towards the beginning of the autumn, commenced the exertions or intrigues (for they are called by either name, according to the opinions of him who discusses them) to secure the return of Mr. Pitt to power. The questions connected therewith, and the proceedings then adopted and continued for some period, till they ended in the termination of Mr. Addington's administration, have been made the subject of such varied comment, that I cannot think it will be unacceptable to the reader if I present to him the ample materials which this correspondence in my hands affords for forming a correct judgment upon this much-debated subject.

The "Correspondence" of Lords Malmesbury and Sidmouth, and the "Life of Lord Eldon," have discussed so much, and come to such opposite conclusions as to

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the motives or conduct of the actors in this political episode, that it seems but an act of justice to them, and to their memory, to present this history of their views and feelings from documents penned with no such intention, and therefore more worthy of trust.

Mr. Pitt has been subjected to the most opposite accusations. By some he has been accused of an unfair attempt to turn out Mr. Addington, while he still inwardly approved, and was (by reason of his counsel) answerable for, the acts of his administration. By others he is charged with a want of energy, in refusing his own active support to the exertions of his friends to procure his return to the head of affairs;—his inactivity at Bath has been compared to that of Lord Chatham at Hayes and East Sheen. While by a third party it is assumed, that he secretly encouraged, though he was ashamed to support openly, the intrigues of others in his favour.

Mr. Canning and his friends are, upon the whole, honoured by the approval, as they were at first also aided by the counsel, of Lord Malmesbury; while by another section they are blamed as promoting, for their own private ends, cabals which were to be kept secret from Mr. Pitt, and which, when communicated to him, incurred his decided disapproval.

Lastly, Lord Mulgrave, and such of Mr. Pitt's private friends as took the same course, suffer under the implied, if not open, censure of Lord Malmesbury for thwarting exertions which, as he thought, could alone save the country from impending ruin; and communicating to Mr. Pitt projects affecting himself,

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which, in Lord Malmesbury's opinion, ought to have been permitted to work their silent way without his knowledge.

I think that the correspondence which follows, and which I shall leave for the most part to speak for itself, will tend to modify some, and to contradict other, of the opinions thus expressed.

It must be remembered that Mr. Pitt stood in a very peculiar position. He had retired but lately from the administration, for no other reason than the King's objection to carry a measure which he thought necessary. He no doubt considered that it is with an administration as has been said of love, — "*C'est un pas solennel de fait que de l'avoir vaincu une fois: le prestige de sa toute puissance est fini.*"

His return to government, while the same objections existed in the same quarter, with even greater strength, could only be possible if he were summoned by the united voice of Parliament voluntarily expressed. Even with this, there would be, no doubt, an apparent inconsistency; but who should say, that, with active enemies abroad and at home, and an incapable Administration in power, he would have been justified in incurring the risk of again bringing on a Royal incapacity (necessarily fraught with so much danger) for the sake of one measure?

The doctrine that an administration should stay in to effect what good it can, even on the condition of postponing to a future period proposals thought important, but which it cannot carry, has been in modern times fully, perhaps too fully, accepted. It is not for

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those who have acted upon, or approved of, such a principle to blame Mr. Pitt for not considering the King's obstinacy, or firmness, (by whichever name it may be called,) and his consequent want of confidence in his minister upon one point, as an insuperable bar to his return to office.

Such was Mr. Pitt's position, and in it his course of conduct required the greatest tact and caution. With Canning and his party it was far different. They were the very agents by which the growing feeling in favour of Mr. Pitt's return to power must be fostered, till it should become the wish, and ensure the support, of an overwhelming majority. As to Lord Mulgrave, and those more intimate associates privately, as well as politically, connected with Pitt, they may well be excused for considering themselves by their very position imperiously called upon to pursue what was for Pitt's personal honour, even before what promised temporary political advantage; since, after all, the ultimate credit of his government, and its means of doing good, must depend most on the *mode* by which he returned to power.

That the scruples by which he and his immediate friends were swayed, deserved no blame for being in excess, may be inferred from the imputations which at that time, and even to this day, have by some been cast upon him, imputations for which the whole tenor of the following correspondence, if fairly considered, will show there was no ground.

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Robert Ward, Esq., to Lord Mulgrave.

"Lincoln's Inn Fields, Nov. 6. 1802.

"My dear Lord,

"I have much to tell you, and wish you were here. Perhaps you know already, from communication with Lord Grenville, that Mr. Pitt and he are almost united in sentiment and views with respect to Government; but lest you may not yet have heard from either, I relate (as I should be much wanting in duty to you if I did not) what has been told me. For some time past, Mr. Pitt has been so far changing towards the present Administration as to think their conduct unwise and feeble; and to feel that, whether through fault or not, the security of the country has been much endangered. He has listened in consequence to the voice of many of his friends, who have made him sensible that the nation has a demand upon his services, which he owes to them if called upon, together with the services of many or most of his former colleagues. Lord Grenville is so anxious for it, that he offers every thing; that is, to be *any thing* or *nothing*, as it may be judged best for the public weal, provided his own (Mr. Pitt's) return to power is secured. These also are the sentiments of most of his party, and the wishes of a great body of most respectable men, peers and country gentlemen; and this it seems has been the subject of much of the negotiation you may have observed to and from Walmer, where it is certain that Lord Grenville past lately some days. It is not true, however, as has been sur-

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mised, and not contradicted by Mr. A.'s friends, that he had pressed the government upon Mr. Pitt; on the contrary, you may rely upon it that no communication whatever of that sort has past between them. As far, therefore, as my present news to you is concerned, you may take for granted that the present minister has no intention to be so no longer; and if change is brought about, it will so far not be voluntary as not to be offered *on his part.* Be this as it may, Mr. Pitt's friends have achieved this great point, — that he has allowed he does not think the government can go on in its present state; that if *consulted* he will not scruple to say so, or to advise Mr. A. to resign his *present* department; that he will advise the return of the Grenvilles; and that, if desired by the Crown, he is ready himself to return to office. That return, and new arrangements, are therefore to be the price of the Grenville party's ceasing to oppose, (or to pursue the triumphs which the summer has afforded them,) in the approaching Parliament. At the same time, nothing of this having yet been communicated to Mr. Addington, and nothing known as to his intentions or feelings, their opposition, thus unresisted (for so we may say it will be) by Pitt, remains suspended until the result of what I am now about to mention is known. Having gained the point of Mr. Pitt's consent to return when circumstances require it, the next step of the party requiring it is to settle the *how* with Mr. A., whatever is done in respect to which remains unknown to Mr. Pitt from obvious reasons of delicacy, as that gentleman could never

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authorise, and indeed had never consented to, any immediate proposal, emanating from his mere consent to come back to power when properly required.

"Two expedients have been proposed: the one favourable, the other hostile, to Mr. A. The first is naturally preferred; and I have this moment seen a letter, drawn up by Lord G. and Canning, and written with the greatest ability, intimating to Addington the sentiments of those who sign it upon the arduous state of affairs, and stating, in fine, that nothing can relieve the country but the return to the conduct of its affairs of such a minister as Mr. P. To support which, they remind him of his own asserted wish that Mr. P. had never been taken away, or that he could or would resume it; they point delicately at insecurity, without affixing blame; and finally call upon him to open the way for the return of Pitt. At the same time they intimate, that the same sort of address will be made to Mr. Pitt himself, and hope all for the preservation of the state. It must be obvious to your Lordship, that if this plan is adopted it will force the minister to *yield* or *reject;* and if the latter, an immediate separation of the now coalesced parties must be the consequence. The other more hostile expedient, if this fail, is to give immediate notice of a motion to address the King to restore to his councils the talents and ability that had been taken from them in Mr. Pitt: and thus the matter now stands. All this was communicated to me *from* Canning through Sturges. I saw them both this morning; the former authorised my sight of the letter

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I have mentioned, and had just come from the Chancellor, with whom he had so far opened the business as to apprise him of Mr. Pitt's consent (so often alluded to) to return to office. He is said to have received the news with great joy, and as a mark of confidence in his known attachment to a man without whom he himself would never have come into power, but for the peculiar circumstances of the times, and the immediate pressure of the King.

"Judging that this communication would only be meant as a call to action, my reply, after the proper thanks, was, that of course I could determine upon nothing without consulting with you: that they had my good wishes for success in bringing about the much-desired return: that I knew they would have yours, but as to any particular line of conduct, I must inform and take measures with you, for which I demanded leave to make the communication I have done. It was not only given of course, but Sturges told me Canning had supposed that you were already aware of every thing from Lord Grenville himself; which if you are, this letter need only be thrown away; but I thought that if any delay were even possible through any unforeseen event, my trouble and your patience were worth tasking for the sake of putting all out of doubt. I was consulted also on the propriety of stating to Lord Lowther, if not the whole plan in agitation, at least so far as to let him know Mr. Pitt's present disposition; to which I answered, that as such a communication would be thought hostile to Addington, I declined committing myself until

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I had consulted your Lordship upon that also. I have no more to add, except, what is not unimportant, that P. expressed himself sensible of hard treatment on the part of the Administration, by their conduct in Parliament; and that, with regard to the Catholic question, he was most decidedly against any agitation of it, whether in or out of power, during the King's life. Perhaps this may make you, my dear Lord, balance upon the propriety of your hastening your journey hither, where as I should conceive you may be much wanted. But of this you must be a better judge than I.

"Your most affectionate and obliged,

"R. WARD."

R. Ward, Esq., to Lord Mulgrave.

"Lincoln's Inn Fields, Nov. 8. 1802.

"My dear Lord,

"I sent you on Saturday an interesting sort of letter, and this is a continuance of it. The inclosed paper*, also, is a copy of the letter to which I alluded, and which, it is stated to me, is drawn up for the present, not as the settled and unalterable form to be adopted, but its substance merely; and your opinion of it, should you approve the measure itself, will be very agreeable to those who drew it. I am, at the same time, told (of course, through the channels I mentioned in my last) that there is the strongest reason to be *certain* that the measure proposed, of restoring Mr. Pitt, will not be disagreeable in the *highest*

* This paper is given *in extenso* by Lord Malmesbury.

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of all quarters. I imagine, and I think that you will agree with me, that upon the ascertainment of this the wisdom of the whole scheme will depend; because, without the most satisfactory assurances to this effect, success is almost more than doubtful, and a dangerous irritation but too certain; not to mention the absolute breach and quarrel that it must evidently produce between parties, to the enfeebling of the councils of the nation (already but too weak), unless the end proposed is without delay accomplished. Of all these points, however, you are not only a better judge than I, but I feel in an absolute state of suspense without you, and, as time presses, would give much that you were here. My own feelings are of little consequence, but I think your presence is much wanted at Dropmore, where, no doubt, I think it will be asked, and where, if it has not been asked before, it is, I *understand*, owing to a persuasion in Lord Grenville's mind, that you had refused to act with him. At least, so says Canning. Now I think I gathered from you, that your refusal was grounded solely upon the conviction that acting with him *would not* bring back Mr. Pitt, and therefore, for the sake of the nation, you supported those who, spite of opposition, were destined to govern. If this was so, and merely so, the case is altered, or altering; and as Mr. Pitt is now brought to a willingness to return, if return is offered and allowed, you will at least have to exercise a new discretion upon this new state of things; and hence the party, I know, wish you here. As to myself, it can be nothing new to Mr. A., connected as I have the pleasure of

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being, that I wish the return of Mr. Pitt: at the same time, to endeavour to force it without his knowledge, and in a manner hostile to the present Government, is a very different, as well as a most important, question. In one thing only I feel no difficulty, and that is, in resigning myself to your direction as to the best mode of contributing to the advantage of the country in restoring to it the services of the late minister. You will oblige me, whether on the road or not, by letting me hear from you. I have no news but a piece of personal insolence of Bonaparte. O'Burn telling him at his levée that he wore the uniform of the Prince of Wales, 'Assurez son Altesse Royale,' said this upstart, with an air of protection, 'que je prends le plus grand intêret dans ses affaires!' O'Burn conveyed the message, and offended the Prince very much in so doing.

"Yours affectionately,

"R. WARD."

On the Sunday (7th of November), between the date of the first and the second of these letters, an event had occurred at Dropmore, which is worthy of note, as bearing upon the conduct pursued by Lord Mulgrave, one of Mr. Pitt's most intimate friends, and as serving to show how far Mr. Pitt's wishes and personal character, or the success of a mere party scheme, were preferred by the principal promoters of the plan above detailed. The assent of Mr. Pitt to the whole proceeding, which is here implied, is grounded on a conversation which, according to the indisputable

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evidence of Lord Malmesbury's Diary, had occurred at least as far back as the 18th of October. In that conversation Mr. Pitt had used these remarkable words: "I make no scruple in owning that I am ambitious; but my ambition is character, not office."* He added,—as the condition of his acceptance of office, even upon the contingency of its being voluntarily offered by Addington, proposed by the King from his own proper movement, or called for by Parliament,—the further circumstance of the country and his friends being ready to range round him. Among the latter, he expressly alluded to Lord Grenville.

That great statesman had, shortly after this time, declared his perfect readiness to support Pitt most strenuously, whether he were himself in or out of office. On the 7th of November, however, the day already alluded to, he informed Canning at Dropmore that this would be impossible, and desired that he and his might be considered as nothing in any arrangement which might be made.† Lord Grenville added that he proposed writing to Bath to this effect. Canning himself, two days after, communicated with Mr. Pitt; but by neither of the letters does it appear that the full extent of the final resolution of the Grenville party was explained to Mr. Pitt. Nay, in the following extract from the Diary of Lord Malmesbury, a week after, it would almost appear as if that had been studiously concealed from him. On the 17th, when Canning had had an interview with Mr. Pitt at Bath, "after a good deal of debate"

* Lord Malmesbury's Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 78. † Ibid. p. 91.

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beforehand between Lord Malmesbury and Canning, upon the question of whether it would not be better "to *trust* Pitt *entirely*," it was agreed, says Lord Malmesbury, that "Canning should say to Pitt that I was in possession of the whole transaction, and that if Pitt wished to know either all or any part of it, if he would express this wish to me I would tell it him." Canning afterwards, according to Lord Malmesbury, "settled it with Mr. Pitt that I should answer any question he pleased to put to me."*

Notwithstanding this arrangement, we find that, after much conversation, the following modification was agreed upon between Lord Malmesbury and Canning:—"That I had better not intrude any information or confidence on Pitt, nor refuse him any he asked; *that I had better suppress anything about Lord Grenville*, since Pitt had just received a most kind letter from him, *and since Pitt declared and felt he could not do without his abilities in Parliament* if he again was put at the head of affairs." It is immediately after thus excluding, from a proffered communication, important details as to a point on which Pitt's own conduct, and his opposition or approval of that of others, was to turn, that Lord Malmesbury condemns as jesuitical Lord Mulgrave's excuse for communicating to the party interested schemes deeply affecting him, which schemes too had been communicated to Lord Mulgrave under no seal of secrecy.†

* Lord Malmesbury's Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 108.

† The paragraphs alluded to were as follows:—"Several motives had induced Canning to see Pitt. Lord Mulgrave, who had been made

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Ought we not rather to rejoice that Mr. Pitt had at this time friends who preferred his personal honour to the success of any political movement? Ought we not sooner to condemn, if not as jesuitical, at least as diplomatic (to use a more kindred term), such *ménagemens* as those I have above alluded to, and as the following, by which a Prime Minister's resignation was to be brought about by misleading his imagination into an erroneous conception of the strength opposed to him? A spokesman, to present in person to Mr. Addington the paper alluded to, being, for many reasons, difficult to find, and "imposing signatures," whether in the form of a round-robin, or in the order of their importance, coming in slowly, it was proposed, "as a last resort," to add to "the Paper" a "præscript," commencing thus: — "*It is thought to be most respectful* to Mr. Addington and Mr. Pitt that the inclosed paper should be transmitted to them *without the signatures*, which are *ready to be affixed to it.*"†

acquainted with the paper, and who had been solicited to sign it (without being told, however, of any of the details, which, from Canning, I found were known *in toto* only to Lord Morpeth, Lord G. Leveson, Sturges, son to the Prebend of Chichester, and myself), had, perhaps inadvertently, betrayed the scheme by writing to Pitt. This premature confidence, Canning thought might be very hurtful; and as Lord Mulgrave himself was also coming to Bath, and to stay, Canning wished to see Mr. Pitt first." — *Lord Malmesbury's Correspondence*, vol. iv. p. 107.

"Lord Mulgrave had explained away his apparent breach of confidence by saying, it was not expressly entrusted to him as a secret; that he was, therefore, not bound to keep it, (rather jesuitical,) and that from acting always, and since Pitt went out, under his directions, he was particularly circumstanced, and could not dispense with consulting him now, and asking him whether he ought or ought not to attend the opening of the session." — Ibid. p. 108.

† Ibid. p. 103, 104.

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To this proposal Lord Malmesbury replies:—"If a spokesman and *signatures fail*, by all means employ the præscript. I am not quite sure it would not come with still greater effect by *leaving Mr. Addington's imagination* to suppose signatures were more numerous and more *tremendous* than those you are sure of."*

The second of Mr. Ward's two letters did not reach Lord Mulgrave at Mulgrave Castle, as he had already set off for London, whither it followed him from the north. Inclosed in it was "the Paper." To this he replied as follows:—

Lord Mulgrave to R. Ward, Esq.

"Friday.

"Dear Ward,

"I have received your letter. I see nothing generally objectionable in the copy it incloses. The hint at the proposed parliamentary proceedings I certainly cannot assent to, because I think the measures might be injurious to Pitt's character, and that it would be more likely to throw obstacles in the way of his return to power than to advance that important object. At all events, I never will take any step affecting Pitt without direct communication with him; and I feel it important that I should without delay write to him, not later than by to-morrow's post. You shall see my letter this evening. When I have heard from him, I shall know how far I can co-operate in measures to accelerate his return to power. Nothing can be

* Lord Malmesbury's Correspondence, vol. iv. p. 104.

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added to the reasoning in your letter. It is, indeed, in substance what passed between us last night.

"I have received no letter from Lord Grenville, and I am not astonished at it. He feels the different situation in which I stand from those who followed his opinion of the most expedient conduct on the Peace; and *he* judges what line I must take to be consistent with myself. I certainly never did say that I would not act with him, as an unqualified declaration; but I as certainly would not act with him in opposition to the wishes and opinions of Pitt.

"I feel the urgent necessity, for the security and prosperity of the country, of Pitt's return to the administration of its affairs; and if I receive from him either a conditional or discretionary assent to my taking steps to advance it, I should most zealously and earnestly enter into any measures that *I* think conducive to that end.

"I am afraid we shall not have much opportunity of conversing to-night. I will call before dinner-time, in hopes of finding you returned from Westminster.

"Ever yours,

"Sincerely and affectionately,

"MULGRAVE."

In compliance with the intention thus intimated, Lord Mulgrave addressed Mr. Pitt, at Bath, in a letter the draught of which is dated Nov. 13th, and which I here insert, not only because it contains some interesting allusions to Pitt's expressed wishes and feelings on the question of his return to power, but

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because it embraces the statement of the intended means for promoting that event, which has been put forward as a matter of complaint on the part of Lord Malmesbury and Canning, but which, it will be at once seen, was only communicated in the most general terms possible.

Lord Mulgrave to the Right Honourable W. Pitt.

"Harley Street, Nov. 13. 1802.

"Dear Pitt,

"I should not have troubled you with a letter of this nature, if I had not been assured of the happy and perfect re-establishment of your health.

"On the eve of my departure from Mulgrave, I was informed by Ward (in consequence of a communication to him) of the urgent solicitations which have been made to you to undertake again the government and preservation of the country; and I cannot refrain from adding my *mite* of persuasion to the powers which have been exerted for so important an object. You may perhaps remember, when we last conversed on the weakness and incapacity of the Administration, my expressing an opinion that it would be better even to let those into government who had separated from you on the question of Peace, than to bear the dead-weight of these ministers clinging to your name and reputation in the country, and occasionally, either from weakness or timidity, as far as in them lay, making a sacrifice of both in Parliament. I perfectly recollect the obstacles, then

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represented as in the way of my idea and your opinion, that, when the finances should be settled and tranquillity restored, they might jog on without involving your name with theirs. In another conversation, when you mentioned the surfeit you had taken of office, and the injury your health had received, you admitted to me that circumstances might possibly exist which should render your return to power necessary. It is the recollection of these conversations, and my firm persuasion that those circumstances are now impending, which urge me to address myself to you.

" We are to all appearance about to be engaged in a contest against the undivided attention, and whole collected power, of the French Republic. To meet such a struggle with cheerfulness, and to persevere in it with firmness, the country must see and expect, in the direction of affairs, energy, wisdom, genius, spirit, and discretion. In Addington it can neither see nor expect any of these qualities. Its experience of them all in your administration, and the prevalent idea that you, in a great degree, guide his measures, together with the consequently imputed responsibility of your talents and character, alone, I believe, secure to the present Government the quiet acquiescence of the nation. *I* know the fact is not as 'tis supposed; but if it were, you would be supporting a weight at arm's length, which can only be borne with ease to yourself, and effect to the public cause, by resting directly and exclusively on your shoulders. The bold and wise measure of finance, in case of war,

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which you opened to me, and which I estimate higher the more I think of it, will require such exertion and sacrifices in the outset as your great popularity and high estimation with the landed and commercial public could alone compel. Addington has less than no estimation with commercial men as a financier. In a contest with France, as she is now constituted and governed, the minister of this country must be capable of commanding ready resources of mind against unforeseen circumstances, and taking quick and efficient measures to meet unprecedented difficulties. No administration ever produced so many opportunities as yours of proving the possession of such faculties and resources. Is there a man in the country sanguine enough to expect such powers in the present minister? Bonaparte is an experienced general, and knows how much of the measure of prudence in an undertaking depends upon the party opposed; and I have no doubt that in the operations which ended with the battle of Marengo he calculated much on the limited talents and wavering mind of Melas. Against the Archduke Charles he probably would not have undertaken (more probably would not have succeeded in) that desperate enterprise. With Addington or you he would measure his discretion in the same manner, and regulate his attempts upon a similar scale. This is not of small importance. You know how far the spirits and resources of this country may, for a time, be influenced by loud threats and daring attempts. I could enlarge upon these topics, and bring forward many others,

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but I will urge only one more, which I think very weighty.

"The House of Commons has been brought together without any attempts at management in the elections; the minister has not secured the least influence, either by seats bestowed or facilitated, and, I am told, knows nothing of the dispositions of the persons returned,—who, on their part, will probably feel unconnected and at liberty to consult their fancy upon every measure. The weight of your character and powers can alone keep such a House of Commons steady, render them useful, and prevent their raising perpetual difficulties in the conduct of either war or peace, in the present state of Europe. Under all these circumstances, it appears to me that this is the time for you to come forward to unite the confidence, raise the spirits, and confirm the stability of the empire, by resuming the direction of affairs. You will judge how that is best to be effected. It has been intimated to me, that measures are in contemplation to obtain that most urgent and important object. I have yet had no conversation on the subject, except with Ward, and I will not, on any consideration, adopt any step in which you are so much concerned, without first knowing from yourself that the object at least is not disapproved by you. If I should receive from you either a conditional or discretionary consent to my joining in such a measure, I will, as it may be, conform to your restrictions, or act to the best of my judgment. If you wish me to forbear taking any

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part, I shall remain quiet; if you are disposed to converse with me on the subject, which I should prefer, I shall be ready to go to Bath for that purpose at a moment's warning. I feel the object of the utmost importance, because I think the revival of energy and union in Europe, if any resources for either remain, depends as much upon it as do the security and exertions of this country.

"Ever yours most sincerely,

"MULGRAVE.

"P. S. — I am sure you will give me credit for the motives which induced me to speak to you of yourself as I have done: during twenty years' acquaintance, I have never allowed myself to talk to you about your speeches or conduct, but on a subject of this importance it is absolutely necessary to speak to you as to a third person."

This was the whole extent of communication before Lord Mulgrave went to Bath. Thither had Canning preceded him; and on Lord Mulgrave's arrival we find him saying, in an early letter, "Canning has given his full consent to my communicating any thing Pitt may desire to know."

Meantime on the 16th, no doubt in consequence of the apprehensions entertained by Canning and his friends of the result of any further communication, the following correspondence passed between Mr. Ward and Lord Mulgrave:—

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R. Ward, Esq., to Lord Mulgrave.

"Tuesday, Nov. 16. 1802.

"My dear Lord,

"I have but a single moment to thank you for your kind letter, having been all day at the House swearing in; so that I may now sit and vote.

"With respect to the main subject, I trouble you with this to request, and very earnestly too, that you will not mention anything of intended arrangements. It was a very private *personal* communication from Canning to Sturges, and from Sturges to me; and the disclosure of it may involve me in the most unpleasant of situations with my old friends. Perhaps, also, I may think it not necessary to say anything to Lord Lowther; and shall be truly pleased if you agree with me.

"Ever yours,

"R. WARD."

R. Ward, Esq., to Lord Mulgrave.

"Tuesday evening, Nov. 16.

"My dear Lord,

"I send you the Asiatic Register. In that for 1799, p. 266., you will find the Mornington paper I mentioned. Price of the three, 1*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.*

"I saw Mr. Canning at the House, who, debating still what part exactly to act, means also to go to Bath, which seems the easiest way to come to some final settlement. In the mean time, as I feel that it was, perhaps, from some misconception of mine that secrecy was not enjoined previous to the detail of

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particulars, the disclosure of which may make the confidence reposed in me extremely injurious to those who reposed it, I feel sufficiently awkward in my situation to beg of you, as a favour to myself, not to open anything *in detail* to Mr. P. until C.'s party have determined how to act. I think I understand you to say that, though you felt not bound to secrecy, yet you felt no obligation to a disclosure as far as necessity was concerned; and I therefore think you will comply with this request. Mine is at least a difficult situation to stand in, though, as you have seen, I have no hesitation whatever as to the conduct to adopt; and so I may well say I am *yours*,

" R. W.

" Tuesday evening, Nov. 16.

" If not absolutely necessary to reveal particulars, I think it would be best to give Canning's party the fair chance which secrecy may afford them, they taking upon themselves the risk with their friend."

Lord Mulgrave to R. Ward, Esq.

" Tuesday night.

" My dear Ward,

" Many thanks for the trouble you have taken in procuring the books for me. With respect to the other business, you need be under no uneasiness in any way, because you could not be implicated if I were imprudent. You asked leave to communicate their plan to me, to which they assented. They have requested you to transmit it to Lord Lowther; you have done so. If I were to mention it to Pitt, or

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Lord Lowther to Addington, you would not be blamed; but I see no necessity for my entering into any detail with Pitt, as he would not give his consent to any measures, and it is sufficient that he knows from me that some are in contemplation. With respect to Canning and his party, I think they may feel themselves in some dilemma, after having communicated their intention, as a thing fixed, to so many who have entered into it; but with that we have no business. I go to Bath rather to receive instructions than to give information. If Canning goes to Bath himself, he will, of course, give his own account, and I can have nothing to say. You know that the impression we received of Pitt's having gone so far as to arrange the distribution of offices for a new government induced me first to listen to the plan, and that you even seemed to suppose that my questioning him about his wishes would have the appearance of doubting their veracity; that I met your objection by saying, that his allowing them to continue to follow their own judgment in the line of conduct they should hold, by no means involved in it a consent that I should cease to act in concert with him. In short, I feel reason to rejoice at the caution with which we have hitherto proceeded, and I am sure that I shall not feel less cautious where I see the smallest probability of implicating you.

"I congratulate you on the *seisin* of your seat: I trust it will lead to fame and fortune, and that you never will be out of that House till you are in the other."

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So stood matters at the time of the several departures of Mr. Canning and Lord Mulgrave for Bath: the only intervening events of consequence had been the following letters; the one from Mr. Canning to Lord Mulgrave, showing his extreme anxiety to secure the co-operation of that nobleman; the other from Lord Lonsdale to Mr. Ward, which displays the strong sense and judgment which may generally be traced in his correspondence.

Geo. Canning, Esq., to Lord Mulgrave.

"Lothiar's Hotel, Saturday, Nov. 13. 1802, 6 o'clock.

"My dear Lord,

"I am this moment arrived in town, and, finding a note from Mr. Ward which leads me to apprehend that your Lordship may have expected to see or hear from me in the course of to-day, (from some misapprehension on Mr. Ward's part of what Mr. Sturges had written to him respecting the time of my arrival,) I think it but right to address myself directly to you, for the purpose of requesting that you will have the goodness to name any hour to-morrow morning at which it will be convenient to you to receive me. I shall have great pleasure in waiting upon you; and, as I shall make no other appointment until we have met, I take the liberty of requesting that you will do me the favour to let me hear from you as soon, and to favour me with as early an hour (after ten), as may suit your convenience.

"I have the honour to be, with great truth, my dear Lord, your sincere and obedient servant,

"GEO. CANNING."

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Lord Lowther to R. Ward, Esq.

"Swillington, Nov. 17. 1802.

"My dear Sir,

"Being very desirous of answering your letter by return of post, I seize the very small portion of time allowed me for the consideration of such an important matter as you have communicated to me to reply to it. You must have observed how frequently men of eager habits and sanguine expectations overlook the intermediate steps that are essential to the accomplishment of their wishes, in the anxious contemplation of the object before them. On the first view of what you have suggested, many circumstances strike me as likely to oppose strong, if not insurmountable, difficulties to the accomplishment of an event so much to be wished, but that, I am afraid, is rather to be wished than expected on the grounds you seem to think it practicable. It is certainly a very high matter; and you must allow me to say to you, 'Periculosæ plenum opus aleæ tractas.'

"I have no hesitation in saying, nothing, in my opinion, and, as far as I can judge, in the opinion of the country, could be more generally grateful to the people at large, than Mr. Pitt's return to power; but whether the means that must necessarily be used would not, in the present unsettled state of public affairs, create greater evils than they might remove, is a question I cannot presume to decide. I am very much obliged by your letter; and, as I shall be in town early on Monday, I shall be very glad to have

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the opportunity of seeing you whenever it may be convenient to you.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Ever very sincerely yours,

"LOWTHER."

It is certain that, in his interview with Mr. Canning, Lord Mulgrave communicated both the fact of his having already written to, and his intention of joining, Mr. Pitt at Bath. It is from and to this place that the correspondence was addressed which I shall now subjoin,—most interesting as completing that history of what there took place which is partly supplied by Lord Malmesbury.

Lord Mulgrave to R. Ward, Esq.

"Bath, Nov. 18. 1802.

"Dear Ward,

"I arrived here by dinner-time yesterday, and dined with Pitt. You need be under no anxiety respecting any responsibility you may suppose yourself to have to Sturges on account of your communications to me. Canning was here a day and a half before me; he has had full time to explain himself. He has left Pitt and me perfectly at liberty as to the extent and nature of our communications; neither of which, however, could be at all settled in the short conversation I had yesterday. Indeed, I think the present state of this country, of the administration of its government, and of Europe, are objects of such pressing importance, that the details of measures to

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be taken by Canning, &c. will be comparatively an easy, and, in a great degree, a subordinate subject to the awful discussion of the absolute necessity of more wisdom and better-directed energy in the government. You will be glad to hear that both the act and the nature of your communication to Lord Lowther was entirely approved. You must not expect long details from me, because writing, or any sedentary application, is forbidden with the Bath waters. If any great object should be decided, you shall hear instantly from me; but, as there are no Bath waters in London, I shall hope to hear all interesting and essential matters from you. I shall, on my part, take care not to let the good opinion of you which is now entertained fall off. I tremble for the King's speech: nothing is known or advised about it here; and you may, on my authority, deny generally any advice or influence of Pitt upon the measures of the present Cabinet. Best wishes, &c.

"Ever yours affectionately,

"MULGRAVE."

Lord Mulgrave to R. Ward, Esq.

"Bath, Nov. 20. 1802.

"Dear Ward,

"I forgot, in writing to you yesterday, to say that you need be under no uneasiness about the confidence made to you concerning intended arrangements. I have, from every motive of caution and delicacy to all parties, avoided even a hint at any contemplation of arrangements, either retrospective

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or prospective; the business being by no means in a state to discuss the latter, and the former being in its nature totally unconnected with the great object, and obviously one the discussion of which could answer no purpose, but would only have the appearance of a puerile curiosity on my part. My right of free communication is limited to proposed measures opened to me, and which, in their operation, may affect the character or influence the conduct of Pitt. On these points you can have nothing to apprehend, as Canning has given his full consent to my communicating anything Pitt may desire to know.

"The communication made to Lord Lowther must, of course, have come from him to Pitt; and, at all events, you could, I think, upon reflection, have no wish to withhold from him the knowledge of any step you had taken in this business. I perhaps repeat what I have said before; but my anxiety to set your mind completely at rest makes me rather prefer the risk of much repetition than the chance of any omission of what might secure that object.

"When I desired you to pause about any *part* you might take on the Swiss business, I did it from an undigested idea that I might, perhaps, collect something that would be of use if you should intend to take a part on that question; but, upon reflection, I think your own ideas, and the impression of the moment, will be your best guide, and that I might be more likely to embarrass than enlighten you by any attempt to give conjectural hints.

"Yours affectionately,

"MULGRAVE."

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R. Ward, Esq. to Lord Mulgrave.

"Lincoln's Inn Fields, Nov. 22. 1802.

"My dear Lord,

"The same kindness which made you take so much trouble to put me at rest made you forget, perhaps, that it had exerted itself sooner, and, from your *first* letter, that it was unnecessary. That which I received on Saturday had entirely satisfied me. I learn from the party (and, indeed, have seen part of a letter from Rose, which states) that the grand leader means to keep aloof, for which Bath furnishes him a fair pretence, and that Addington will have learned it from *himself* by to-day's post. Lord Lowther came this morning, and by letter had appointed me to meet him in Charles Street, where I had a conference with him of above an hour. In his letter he had stated that many difficulties occurred to him upon the plan, though he wished for the object. This I told Canning, who, thinking with me that they arose from his not knowing Pitt's mind, begged me to refer him to Lord Camden for all information. When I met Lord Lowther I found that this was so; in addition to which, that he thought Pitt was still consulted and still advised. The great objection of all, however, was, that it might be disagreeable to the King, and that any parliamentary step would certainly be so, both to him and Pitt himself; in which he fell in exactly with your Lordship. I told him my own conduct in the matter; but, at the same time, succeeded in undeceiving him as to Mr. Pitt's situation with

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the present Government, and made him assurances, as I had been requested to do by Canning, that all parliamentary measures were renounced. It ended by his resolving to confer largely with Lord Camden; and that, if it could at all be proved to him that the King would sincerely approve the return to power, he would concur in the measure of the paper. At the same time, having been sent to in the country to move the address, and sent to again twice this morning, he resolved still to decline. In all this, as you will observe, I was merely instrumental, as I could not help being after the communication I had made him. His whole behaviour was sensible, and most like a gentleman. So far, it is perhaps lucky that there is to be no division; and I shall take no part, either for or against Government, unless, in the course of an unexpected debate, anything should give my *reason* a fair opening in their support.

"Truly and affectionately,

"R. W."

R. Ward, Esq., to Lord Mulgrave.

"November 24. 1802.

"My dear Lord,

"As the best continuation of my letter to you, sent yesterday, I think it best to inclose to you Lord Lowther's communication of his conference with Lord Camden, and its result. I should add, that he saw him after he (Lord Camden) had been long closeted with Lord Castlereagh. Lord Lowther took me out

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of the House of Lords last night and conversed freely upon the contents of his note. He seemed to approve entirely of all I had done in the affair; but though he had declined acting, yet he seemed sanguine and warm in the expectation that the measure would work itself in the course of time. I communicated his resolution to Canning, Lord Morpeth, &c., who were so far from being surprised at it, that they told me the whole affair was now *suspended*, as your Lordship had done before. I ought to add, that Lord Lowther said, upon the authority of Lord Camden, that Mr. P. would never return but in conjunction with Lord Grenville. This, though you may know it already, I mention to close my account of intelligence upon the subject.

"In debate last night, Government, particularly, I think, Mr. Addington, certainly did themselves good. Opposition was scarce ever so feeble on the part of the Grenvilles. As to energy and language, I think Canning was incomparably the best in the House. His defence of the late Government, and the facilities they left to the present, was one of the best things, either argumentatively as to matter, or critically as to manner and style, I ever remember. As to myself, I was only an observer,—but an interested one. I find that, as far as argument, or language, or fear of the public attention, are concerned, I feel not much apprehension in encountering a speech. What deters me chiefly is the great difficulty that must attend the *voluntary* attempt of a person of so little consequence to gain the attention of the House. Had I the mere

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authority which the gown gives me at the Bar, I do not think I should have much to fear, and in time little or none. There were several misrepresentations of Fox and Whitbread, and some over-violent calls for Wyndham, which, even as it was, I felt *inclined* to observe upon, but was withheld by the consideration I have mentioned.

"Affectionately yours, my dear Lord,

"R. W."

From Lord Lowther to R. Ward, Esq. (inclosed in the foregoing).

"Charles Street, Nov. 23. 1802.

"My dear Sir,

"The result of my conversation with Lord Camden being all it may be necessary to communicate to you at this moment, I lose no time in acquainting you, that though he is of opinion that Mr. Pitt would not decline the measure intended to be proposed to him, yet he has no reason to think Mr. Pitt is prepared to say that the present time would be fit for that purpose. From the restraint I was under, it was not possible for me to enter into the question as fully as I could have wished. I am perfectly satisfied that the crisis is not yet arrived when this matter can be agitated with any prospect of success; and I am very apprehensive that the zeal with which it may be presented would finally defeat the object of Mr. Pitt's return to power. I am much mistaken if the situation of affairs does not daily

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show the increased necessity for it, and I think that necessity will work its own ends. The acts of Mr. Pitt's confidential friends will be considered as his own, and I leave it to your mind to suggest to you how far it would be congenial to the turn of his mind to return to his situation till the voice of the country called for it in a tone he could not resist. This may, and most probably will, be the case; and to precipitate that event by any interposition, might perhaps render his services less efficacious, and subject him to suspicions he would not wish to encounter.

"I am, my dear Sir, ever very faithfully yours,

"LOWTHER."

Lord Mulgrave to R. Ward, Esq.

"Bath, Nov. 27. 1802.

"Dear Ward,

"I return you Lord Lowther's letter. Nothing can be more sensible and judicious than all the sentiments and opinions which it conveys; if he were the brother of Pitt, he could not feel more justly or more warmly for his honour and character. At the same time that I see with him the probability of the state and cry of the country recalling him to power, I cannot help trembling at the dangers and difficulties which may be incurred by weak, rash, infirm, and irresolute counsels in the interim. The country is slow to see its dangers, and still more slow in applying its remedies; and every hour of this period coun-

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tervails years of ordinary times. The government appears to me more difficult to conduct in peace than war. However, we must trust to the energy of Pitt's genius to counteract the evils of delays which the integrity of his character may require.

"I am much obliged to you for your clear and satisfactory account of the first day's debate; I could have wished to receive from you the character of the second, which appears incomparably more interesting and important. The minister seems dropping into the arms of Fox, as it is said birds do into the jaws of the rattlesnake. Timidity and vanity, with the want of penetration and love of applause which belong to them, will be easily led into a disgraceful state of apparent protection, by so powerful a mind as that of Fox working upon such materials. I am glad you did not take a part, although I know it would have been discreet in the measure of it, and creditable to your abilities in the manner; but you will speak with more unembarrassed freedom of mind when you shall have received the great outline of politics from the great master of sound policy and public spirit. By the bye, I have good reason to believe that his declarations relative to Lord Grenville were not so ample and unconditional by a great deal as Lord Camden supposed and understood. Private accounts of debates are in great request, and received with much satisfaction and curiosity here.

"Yours most affectionately,

"MULGRAVE."

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Here may be said to have found its conclusion what has been sometimes contemptuously called the Paper Plot. It was a scheme of which might have been said from the beginning —

"It will not, nor it cannot, come to good:"

and that it should ever have employed the energies of Mr. Canning in the flower of his youth, or received the countenance and co-operation of Lord Malmesbury in the maturity of his age, must remain one of those anomalies which puzzle all who expect a character to be complete in all its parts, or that even its prevailing features should be always predominant. Much more naturally would one have expected that Canning, when to the impetuosity of youth was added the all-conquering gift of eloquence, should, by indignation, by sarcasm, or by ridicule, have prepared the way on the floor of the House, and in open debate, for that advent to power by Mr. Pitt which he so much desired. With equal certainty would one have anticipated that the experienced wisdom of such a Nestor in diplomacy as Lord Malmesbury would have rejected, as absurd, any expectations of success built upon the presentation of a round-robin, or an anonymous threatening letter, to a minister who could still boast of so large a collection of devoted supporters around him. Putting aside for a moment all consideration of the inherent absurdity of the scheme, one might have reckoned on a more considerate regard for the character of him who was to be raised to honour at *a certain sacrifice of honour*, who was

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to be armed with power, and at the same time disarmed of that high character which could alone render it effective.

The conduct of those more intimately connected with Mr. Pitt himself was that not only of wise men and prudent politicians, but of true friends, inasmuch as they looked not so much to immediate results as to ultimate consequences. The part borne in the whole matter by Mr. Ward is more remarkable, as showing the confidence in his judgment and conduct which was thus early reposed in him by those who had already attained eminence in the political world. It is probable that it was this proof of the estimation in which he was already held, that to him lent the great charm and interest of the whole scheme; and the evidently predominating feeling of his mind throughout, is a desire that this confidence should in no one point be found to have been misplaced.

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CHAP. VI.

SESSION OF 1802–3. — POSITION OF ADDINGTON. — LETTERS FROM AND TO LORD MULGRAVE UPON MR. WARD'S FIRST SPEECH. — INQUIRY INTO ABUSES IN NAVAL AFFAIRS. — MR. WARD'S SPEECH. — REMARKS UPON PROGRESS OF SESSION. — LETTER FROM LORD MULGRAVE TO MR. WARD UPON OBSTACLES TO MR PITT'S RETURN TO POWER. — LORD MULGRAVE TO MR. PITT. — MR. WARD ON THE PROGRESS OF THE SESSION.

THE session had meantime commenced, affording an opportunity for more legitimate warfare. The letters which follow furnish an interesting account of its debates, at a time when all the elements of political parties in the House of Commons were in a state of ferment; when the friends of Mr. Pitt were hampered by his known wishes as to their course of conduct, and by their fears of committing him in his peculiar position; when the old Opposition were disposed to lend a doubtful and dangerous support to the weaker, as distinguished from the stronger, section of their adversaries; and when the followers of the Ministry found themselves obliged at one moment to thank and depend upon those who insulted them, at another to throw out insinuations against those whose policy they had undertaken to continue.

As early as the 2d of December, in the first debate after that on the address, upon the question of an increase of the naval forces, in which the minister had been attacked upon every possible and upon all contrary

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grounds, such as that the grant was not necessary, — that it was too large, — and that it was completely insufficient, Mr. Ward had some thoughts of making *ex improviso* his maiden speech. At the close of a not very lively debate, a Dr. Lawrence, against whom he had been many a time opposed in the Cockpit, had laid himself open to a criticism which Mr. Ward was tempted to address to some of Addington's friends who sat around him, and which he was urged to offer on his legs. He refrained, however, from doing so, and communicated the details of the debate to Lord Mulgrave at Bath, which led to the following correspondence: —

Lord Mulgrave to R. Ward, Esq.

"Bath, Dec. 4. 1802.

"My dear Ward,

"I am very much obliged to you for your very full and intelligent letter. If the higher or lower *underlings* of the Government talk the language and hold the conduct you describe, it will be impossible for any of Pitt's friends to give them countenance or support. With respect to their uniting with Fox, or even with Sheridan, Tierney, and Grey, I hardly think that likely, as they would inevitably thereby lose the only, or at least the most, able *heads* of their government, and be rendered ten times more weak than they now are by public disgust and general unpopularity; nor would they be allowed by such new colleagues to keep up the establishment for which

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they are now pledged. *A propos* to establishment, I again rejoice (notwithstanding my earnest desire that you should make an early and conspicuous figure) that you did not speak at the time you were near doing so. I can easily conceive that Hiley, Addington, and Bragge should wish to see you entered in their defence on the first possible opportunity. A favourable one it certainly (in my opinion) was not, for the following reasons:—First, because a first speech at the end of a debate never makes a favourable impression. Secondly, when the attention of the House has been exhausted by such a man as Lawrence, they will give but a forced attention. Thirdly, I think you should take a whole subject, and not a skirmishing hit, for your *début;* you must start upon a higher scale, to stand upon the ground which could alone be fit for and advantageous to you. Fourthly, you should not, in the first instance, measure yourself with a heavy and unpopular speaker, nor, if it can be avoided, with any lawyer; you will be very likely to find yourself coupled in people's ideas with your first adversary. I need not say how much better it would be to be so coupled with Lawrence in the Cockpit than in Parliament. Fifthly, because (if you will forgive me for saying so) the ground you meant to take, though it might show the accuracy of your information, and the error of Lawrence's statement, yet in fact it did not apply as any argument upon the main question, because the amount of establishment, and the periods of reduction or augmentation, depend so much upon the relative situation

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of different powers at each peculiar era, that what may be perfectly prudent and amply sufficient at one time may be rash and insufficient at another. All your precedents of former times could, therefore, in no respect apply to the policy of the present moment. Had you stood forward to combat the evident and glaring paradoxes of Fox's speech, you could have suffered no discredit, and could have been guilty of no indiscretion, as it never can be wrong to combat Fox; or had you failed to expose the whole of his (to me) monstrous line of argument, still I should have rejoiced in the attempt, and should with satisfaction have said to you, —

"Non tam
Turpe fuit vinci, quam contendisse decorum est."

And, sixthly (for I must give you a full half-dozen of reasons), though accuracy of information, and distinct statement of facts, are powerful and necessary *parts* of a *speech*, yet it should not consist entirely of a dry solitary statement of them to one point of a *debate*. Wednesday probably will be the last day of importance before the holidays. I agree with you that war is not desirable, and nobody can deny that there are grounds enough to render it justifiable: whether it be either politic or necessary, no one without cabinet information can decide. Perhaps I do not exactly agree with the tone and sentiments of either side of the House; at any rate I should think it dangerous to be the advocate of the specific measures of the Government, till one knows a little of the transactions with the French Government on which they

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are grounded: at all events, Fox's system of seeking security in weakness and low establishments, and his judgment in expecting no contest with France, are certainly not very difficult or dangerous to combat. I am very glad to hear that Sturges has done so well: he has a character of mind and understanding, that will continue to gain ground; he goes directly to his point, and does not aim at a brilliancy which often ends in tinsel and bad taste.

"I shall go from hence to Mulgrave, and am yet in doubt of my future destination; but it will probably be an early removal to London. Mr. Pitt gains ground every day by drinking the waters; they agree perfectly with me, but have not yet removed my complaint. This is an immense Bath letter, and written at past eleven o'clock at night, — immense Bath hours!

"Adieu!

"Ever yours affectionately,

"MULGRAVE."

R. Ward, Esq., to Lord Mulgrave.

"Wednesday, Dec. 8. 1802.

"My dear Lord,

"I write to you from the Cockpit, *en attendant* my turn to be heard on the same side, not against Dr. Lawrence. If I love oratory, I shall at least have enough of it to-day, as I go immediately hence to the House, where, however, I shall have other entertainment 'of lighter sort, and such court guise, as Mercury did first devise, with the mincing Dryades.'

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Certainly it will be very different from all I have heard this morning. So many maiden speeches to be launched,—so much experience to be brought into the battle by Fox and Sheridan against one another, exclusive of the others,—that I never heard of a debate of more promise. *Pour moi*, I am too completely uncertain, and fearful of fixing, or seeming to fix, myself where I shall indubitably not like to remain, to volunteer any thing, even if there should be an opportunity; and shall therefore continue of the neuter, or rather perhaps of the epicene, gender. With you, I am now glad that I did not get up the other night, for five of your reasons; the sixth is too long to discuss, only thus much I may say,—that I meant to make all allowance for the difference of relative situation. Hiley told me he had given a scrap of paper (I had pencilled for him in the House) to his brother, who was exceedingly sorry I had not stated it. And I can believe him, for the reason you give, without reference to any other. Upon the same principle, perhaps, was Lord Hobart's civility to me. I went for papers in consequence of Hiley's note to him, and he very good-naturedly said he felt affronted that I should not have come more freely myself; adding, 'I am much too pleased to see you taking a part in Parliament, not to be glad to give you at pleasure every facility the office can afford.' As the part I may take in Parliament might be very different from what he imagines, I am rather sorry for this, and it will be a reason for keeping more on the reserve. In truth, all our difficulty

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depends upon the King. The great majority, at present, wish for Pitt, but fear, unless the King is sincerely changed, that his power, if he returned, would be unstable. Meanwhile the times are out of joint — few people act together, and Ministers have hitherto been without a single defender, except Fox, or those in office.

"I hope what Edmund says is not true, that you go home without coming through London; for I want much to have conversations at large with you. You need not fear disclosures to Canning or Sturges, if you have gathered any thing from your illustrious friend which I might otherwise know. I cannot help remarking your silence about his sentiments. Pray come among us, if you can, and believe me as usual, which is all I can say.

"I conducted a long cause the other day in the Exchequer, spoke an hour, and succeeded."

R. Ward, Esq., to Lord Mulgrave.

"Thursday.

"My dear Lord,

"I write again from the Cockpit, which I was obliged to attend at ten, after being up till five — pretty initiative discipline! A brilliant debate, and much interest. No language can describe Sheridan — most argumentative, most English, and most witty! The latter blazing absolutely from beginning to end! None but himself could have called Addington Doctor

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to his face!* The interest, however, to *us* is most worthy of remark. He panegyrised Ministers, and called for plain language as to Pitt, insinuating not the fact, but the possibility, of his participation in the measures of his friends, at the same time confessing that he believed the pride and dignity of his mind was above it. The incompatibility of an union between him and the Grenvilles was strongly pressed; he bespattered his and their administration, and defended the present, with a power proportionate to the weakness with which the former were defended by the latter. Canning, in return, disclaimed all participation between Pitt and Addington†; so did Addington himself, and the House seemed to approve. Cartwright

* This was the famous speech in which the "Non amo te, Sabidi" of Martial was rendered —

"I do not like thee, Doctor Fell,
The reason why, I cannot tell;
But this I know full well,
I do not like thee, Doctor Fell."

Lord Campbell has very correctly noticed, that the name of Doctor was not given him on account of his parentage, but from his late successful suggestion of a simple remedy for relieving his Royal Master's melancholy complaint.

† Not only this, but he conveyed the extent to which the earnestness of Pitt's discouragements of the late proceedings had struck (I might perhaps add, had wounded) him, in the following memorable words: "Never did young ambition, just struggling into public notice and aiming at popular favour, labour with half so much earnestness to court reputation and to conciliate adherents, as my right honourable friend has laboured, since his retreat from office, not to attract, but to repel; not to increase the number of his followers, but to dissolve attachment and to transfer support." What more striking language could have been employed to repel those insinuations which have been, even to this day, received by the careless or the prejudiced, than these words, so indicative not only of the conviction but of the *feelings* of him who had the best opportunity of judging?

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and Lord Temple recommended Pitt's return most strenuously, but, upon the whole, the impression upon that point seemed feeble.

"Fox was so dull, so little consistent, so mistaken in his facts, so fallacious in his reasoning throughout, that nothing could have been more easy than to answer him, wholly independent of any question of party. I was stating my thoughts upon this, upon the bench where I sat, and Cartwright insisted upon giving me his place in order to speak them. But I was repressed by what has continually repressed me—my total uncertainty of the place where I am. A pretty violent burst was made by Sheridan, upon the invasion of the prerogative by endeavouring to force Pitt upon the Crown. Canning forgot this, but will remember it to-night, when the whole debate will be renewed upon the Report, Tom Grenville having given notice of his intentions upon that head. Maitland was good; but he and Whitbread most un-English, in stating their fears, to say what they thought of Bonaparte's conduct in Switzerland. D. Ryder was excellent upon this, and all the rest — as excellent as Banks was contemptible. And so ends my chronicle. The result is, a fear that the end we all most wish is removed farther off. If any thing occurs to-night, I will write again. Meantime Graham, my colleague, who has been at Lowther, tells me I am in good odour there.

"Ever yours, my dear Lord,

"R. W."

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Lord Mulgrave to R. Ward, Esq.

"Bath, Dec. 10. 1802.

"Dear Ward,

"I return you many thanks for your full and satisfactory letters from the Cockpit, earnestly hoping that your clients have not suffered by your kind attention to me.

"I regret much that you did not attack Fox: I had pointed him out as the game for you to fly at; you never can be wrong in combating *his* arguments, correcting his facts, and exposing his fallacies. Had you taken up and gone through his speech, it would have established you for ever. Do not lose such another opportunity. Pitt is absent for a few days, on a visit to Longleat* and to his mother. I miss him most particularly at this period of interesting parliamentary discussion. You were struck with Fox's first speech, and astonished at Sheridan's; but Pitt was not there. Hear him before you decide either on the temper of the House, or the power of eloquence. The impression must indeed be feeble, when Lord Temple and Mr. Cartwright are the most strenuous recommenders of his return to office; but when you shall hear his sound and temperate arguments, his animated and powerful eloquence, his strong and natural flow of most appropriate and impressive words, watch the feelings and temper of the House; examine your own sensations; and tell me then what are the general wishes of the

* The seat of Lord Bath, near Warminster.

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House, and the quality of the impression made upon them. There is a great fund of good sense and good taste in the public; there is an active and anxious interest for the honour and security of the country in the people at large, and in Parliament particularly. The dangers that surround us are great; the adversary that works against us is active, powerful, and able. Those on whom our salvation now rests are (at least, most of them) weak in sense, in spirit, in character, and in conduct. Would you trust the island of Nevis, the smallest of our possessions, to be fought for, to be argued for, to be played at push-pin for, between Bonaparte and Addington? Would you risk one guinea against a hundred upon any competition, of any description, between them? And if *you* would not, do you think the country will long rest satisfied with such a guard against such a danger? Is there any competition (I might almost say, up to the command of an army) in which you would fear that Pitt should be over-reached, dismayed, or puzzled by Bonaparte? I say not; the country would, I am convinced, say not; and the Parliament will, I am as convinced, feel this difference. The prop of public opinion, from the persuasion that Pitt influenced the measures of Government, is but just taken from under the Administration. The country has not yet seen them standing without it: when they perceive the buttress gone, they will scarcely think the flimsy barrier sufficient to keep out the torrent of French envy, French enmity, French enterprise, and French power. The very *idea* of any impression relative to

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Pitt being feeble in the House of Commons, had led me into a sort of rhapsody; and my letter is, I find, too late for the post, before I have had time soberly and coolly to tell you that the doubt of his disposition to return, the fear of the Catholic question, the apprehension of appearing to force the King, and the unpopular or weak parties, whom you describe to have taken the lead in the suggestion, have checked the feelings of the House; but the spirit and attachment is there, to come forth in good time.

"It is yet doubtful whether I shall go to Mulgrave, or Sophia come to London, at Christmas; but the state of my house, and a thousand other inconveniences and difficulties, render the former at present the most probable. Remember me kindly to your amiable wife and good children, and believe me ever

"Yours, sincerely and affectionately,

"MULGRAVE."

It is curious that Mr. Ward's maiden speech (thus often urged and often deferred) should have been in support of a measure which, in the end, by the manner in which it affected his intimate friend Dundas, caused so much mortification to, if it did not also accelerate the death of, Mr. Pitt.

On the 13th of December, Captain Markham brought in a Bill for the appointment of Commissioners to inquire into Abuses in Naval Affairs. So little consequence was attached to this matter at the time, that the volume of "Parliamentary Debates" contains but a sketch of the speeches delivered upon it. It was

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principally remarkable for the want of concert and agreement in opinion exhibited by Ministers in the two Houses of Parliament. While the proposition was warmly supported by Addington, by his now occasional assistant Sheridan, and by the law-authority of the Attorney-General, it was treated by the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords as requiring great caution, and was afterwards altered by him in a very material point. It was on the 17th and 18th of December that Mr. Ward made, in the committal of this Bill, the speeches which are alluded to in the following letter. The first speech is entirely omitted in the "Parliamentary History;" and even in the "Morning Chronicle" of that date, in which it is, as he himself says, "most correctly reported," so meagre an outline is given as to make it unfit for extract.

R. Ward, Esq., to Lord Mulgrave.

"December 19. 1802.

"My dear Lord,

"As I have broken ice, you will perhaps not be sorry to hear how I felt and succeeded in the debate last night. Both much better than I expected; and though I have pulled the whole house of Canning, Sturges, &c., upon my head, I have at least asserted my sentiments independent of attachment to them. In truth, I felt rather shackled by my frequent confidences with them, yet inwardly disagreeing with them on many points. I told them so; and last night showed it by action. It was, however, a little unpleasant to

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set out with so total a difference on both law and politics as that with Sturges. I had to answer him, Canning, and Lord Temple, at length, they having attacked my law and facts. I, however, most entirely succeeded, and had the cheers of nearly the whole House. On my second argument, when Lord Temple read the Act of 1802 at length, I found myself frightened, but no wise embarrassed, and heard much good report all around me. I was particularly cheered, and indeed called upon, by Addington, the Treasury Bench, and the Attorney-General, the latter of whom shook me heartily by the hand after the debate, saying he rejoiced to have heard my voice, which, he could assure me, sounded remarkably well. Frank also told me much good report which passed at his dinner-table in my absence; so, upon the whole, I am not ill pleased. I have to-day discovered, by rummaging in Lincoln's Inn library, a commission giving *precisely* the same powers, and couched in the *same words*, as the present: this was at the end of the Dutch war, 1667. So if the challenge is repeated to-day to show any precedent, I shall be still stronger than last night. The Morning Chronicle reports me the best.

"I must add, that Dillon told me of flattering testimony from Windham, who expressed alarm that I was not one of them, which I certainly am not. I had no communication with the Ministry during the debate. The adjournment is to the 7th February.

"Your affectionate,

"R. W.

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"Dillon says I am an absolute Jeffries, and quite cut out for a crown lawyer."

Lord Mulgrave to R. Ward, Esq.

"Mulgrave, Dec. 31. 1802.

"My dear Ward,

"I had not time, before I left Bath, to answer your last letter. I have found Sophia and the children perfectly well.

"Giving Sturges full credit for liberality of sentiment, &c. &c., I cannot agree with you that he had any opportunity of exerting them upon this occasion. Their communications to you were in the hope of engaging you in their views and in their mode of accomplishing them. They found you connected with Lord Lowther, Pitt, and me, and disposed to act with us in our mode of accomplishing what might be most conducive to the public advantage. With perhaps no higher estimation of the present Government than themselves, we were of opinion that (on account of a consideration too important to be passed over, and too delicate to be mentioned almost amongst ourselves) this Government should be supported where they might be in any degree defensible; and that they should be touched by *us* only with the concurrence of the man whom we all — though *we*, perhaps, with a little more ostensible deference to his opinion than they and Grenville adopt — consider as our *head*. They think Government should be opposed on every

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measure; even those which are *prima facie* patriotic and beneficial. They give their opinion, you yours, in the House. Why they should be more offended with you, than you with them, I cannot conceive. I think they took an imprudent line, notwithstanding the discreditable disunion of Government in the two Houses of Parliament, the inconsistency in the House of Lords between the first and second day's debate, and the further difference between the first law authority of the Crown in the two Houses upon the return of the Bill to the Commons. I say, though this shows a weak, disjointed, and undisciplined Government, still I think their line was not a good one, either for oppositionists or neutrals, and that therefore they have no right to be offended with you for separating yourself publicly from a line which you did not think discreet or judicious under any course of political conduct.

"At the success of your speeches I need not say how sincerely I rejoice, however confidently I had anticipated it; but I most fully agree with those of your friends who think you should reserve yourself for some great and powerful effect on the whole of an important question, and not degenerate into a daily and skirmishing *debater*. *Omnibus par es, omnia expectabimus*. You may and can do all that Grant has done, if you will watch your opportunity with the same vigilance, and avail yourself of it with the same industry. Many deep, important, and extensive subjects await us. After the holidays we shall have occasion for much consultation, and the advantage of the best guidance.

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"Best love from all here, which the return and progress of seasons may confirm, but can hardly augment.

"Ever yours most sincerely and affectionately,

"MULGRAVE.

"Where and when can I direct and write to Baron Smith, from whom I have received a very entertaining letter?"

The position and feelings of Mr. Ward, in that portion of the session which was now interrupted by the Christmas holidays, having been sketched by himself, I give it in his own words. He begins by noticing what would have been his conduct had he come into Parliament as early as the period of the first negotiation of the Peace. "I looked upon the peace," says he, "as a thing necessary to the nation: I looked upon it as an experiment proper to be tried; little imagining how it had been contrived, or what ample provision had been made for its immediate dissolution. Far less did I understand what sacrifices would be suffered (worse than dissolution itself) to keep the frail and feverish body together. I should, therefore, have voted for those who made it with at least good intentions, — for those on whom the King chose his government should exclusively rest. Thus, though not enrolled in their check, I should, perhaps, have been their soldier; and though I might have wished for commanders differently composed, I might have fought for them as well as I was able, cheered by the hope of contributing to the public good.

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"In htis frame of mind, and with these principles; ignorant, and kept in ignorance, of what was passing on the Continent; hoping and confiding in a pacific system, which I fondly believed was attainable with proper conduct; after the treaty had been *approved* by Parliament (in what way, I have shown); after Mr. Pitt had retired to the quiet so necessary to him, and an Opposition had been established of the very highest cast for talents, eloquence, experience, and honour, — it was then that I had the fortune to enter the House of Commons. Perhaps in the history of parties there never was a moment of greater curiosity, or greater interest; although, in point of numbers, there never had been a period of greater strength to any ministry. But, were they really strong? Had they really the confidence, the good wishes, the admiring approbation, the grateful respect, of their country? Or was it not the King's name alone that kept them together, — the King's name operating upon a disjointed state of parties, terrified by the exigencies of the commonwealth, and preferring almost any government to the uncertain shock of contending leaders?

"With a Ministry thus constituted, and in times confessedly the most arduous; with a greater stake to defend, and fewer means to defend it, than ever was known since England was England, — I again ask, was the nation satisfied with their governors? They refer you to the votes for the answer; and I say, from experience of myself, that the votes determine nothing. In the first part of the session, there was no divisoin: had there been one, attached as I

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was by personal affection to some of the Opposition, and by admiration to almost all, I should, nevertheless, have given my *vote* to men against whom I thought no case had been made, however little was to be stated in their favour. They were honoured by their Sovereign's confidence, and pledged themselves to the preservation of peace,—a consummation which I ardently desired. Little aware of the hollowness of that ground, I passed over what, to ignorance like mine, seemed trifling errors, and gave them credit for wisdom in their great general system, which, unhappily, such men were not, it seems, born to accomplish. Had a vote, therefore, been necessary upon any of the opposition topics of that time, in all probability my vote had been theirs. My *voice*, such as it was, and the little power I possessed, were actually exerted in their service on particular questions; and while great public measures were kept out of sight, and the touching-stone of foreign intercourse was adroitly evaded, I beheld undazzled the bold flights of ability which coursed adversely around them into action. The business of the State, it was said, might be carried on without eloquence (God forbid it should not!); their labours were less brilliant, but more beneficial; the finances flourished; the national defence was completely provided for; the peace was preserved, and the honour of the country at the same time not compromised!

"These topics, I own, had their full weight with me and others, who took a very conscientious, though perhaps a very limited, view of things as they were

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passing, and who were of too little consequence to be *enrolled* in a party. But this illusion could not long continue. It was melancholy, at best, to be forced perpetually to be making allowances; to be always giving credit for *intention;* to hear things carried by assertions, which were often retracted, or explained away, together with their explanations; to see every thing in a sort of indefinite nondescript state, 'a mighty maze, and all without a plan.'"

Parliament had adjourned to the 7th of February. The power of Addington (at least to all outward appearance) was little, if at all, weakened by the short winter session; the return of Pitt to office, according to the impression of some of his most ardent supporters, was deferred rather than hastened by all that had passed; while the promoters of the abortive scheme of the last November were not only discomfited, but inclined to throw blame on those by whom they considered their discomfiture had been promoted. The open and, as they considered it, unnecessary opposition of Mr. Ward to the line they had taken on the question of the Naval Commissioners Bill, had aggravated his offences in their eyes; and, in a conversation with one of his friends, he had been assured that *he* had "prevented the return of Pitt to power."

Of an ardent temperament, — new to the strife of politics, — jealous above all things of his personal honour, — he was unable, amid the coolness or complaints of acquaintances or friends, to preserve that calmness and freedom from irritation for which, in later political differences, whether in public or private,

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he was ever remarkable; and he addressed a letter on the subject to Lord Mulgrave, to which I am only able to give the reply, the proofs of uneasiness of mind which found words in the original letter having been most likely committed to the flames.

Lord Mulgrave to R. Ward, Esq.

"Mulgrave, Feb. 11. 1803.

"My dear Ward,

"As nobody has more wished, so nobody can be more rejoiced, than myself, that Pitt should clearly and distinctly state how he stands, and what he thinks, with respect to the present Administration and their measures.

"I am sorry that you should, with so little reason, feel nothing but mortification from your political career. This arises, it seems, from your having expressed your opinion when it was not in perfect unison with that of some of your private and particular friends. These things must occasionally happen; and I rather think that a little accumulation of bile, from hard study, has suggested the notion to you, than any real coolness of your friend, who has been too long in the bustle of politics to feel or to show you any coolness on such a subject.

'Your strange and self-abuse,
Is the initiate fear which wants hard use,
You are but young in deed.'*

"I, who have been twenty years in Parliament,

* *Macbeth.*

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have learned that the most fair and candid politicians are disposed to persuade themselves that the failure of any measure of their contrivance arises from any thing rather than a defect in the measure itself, or any error of their own. I know also that the examination of such a question must, on all political topics, assume, in some degree, the form and character of a debate; and, because I know all this, I do not feel the least uneasiness at the *hint* from Sturges, that I have prevented the return of Pitt to power, when he (Sturges) told you 'that they have reason to be sure their measure had Pitt's approbation, if it could have been kept entirely from *him*, so as not to involve him in point of delicacy.'

"I am not merely at ease because I think I could not act otherwise than I did without involving him in point of delicacy, nor because *I* have reason to believe that it did meet his approbation, but from the nature of the case, and from a recollection of every thing which passed respecting it. In the first place, you will recollect that it was not kept entirely from Pitt previous to any communication to you, because you were informed that he had gone so far as to enter into the detail of arrangements, but the precise measure he did not know. Neither did he by my letter.* I recollect, and you will also recollect, that Canning, when I came into his lodgings, said he feared I had ruined them; but when I explained to him what I had written, he said, 'I am very glad you have done

* As we have already seen in the letter itself, page 76.

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it; that can only do good.' Therefore, as far as opinion went in the course of the business, and upon the measure of my writing, we were all agreed; and Canning knows that when he arrived at Bath, Pitt had not a hint of the nature of the measure proposed. Such a measure adopted by *me*, who had followed Pitt vote by vote, might have made *him liable* to suspicion. *They* were free to act according to their own judgment, which they had followed without reserve in opposition to Pitt; but you, to whom they made their first application, were still more likely to involve him in imputation than I was, as it was well known that you had first been brought into Parliament under his auspices. For the measure itself, I confess I do not, upon reflection, see any great reason to lament its having been laid aside. In the first place, because there is every ground to suppose that it would have failed of its object: the measure was not in a state of maturity to come with commanding effect, by being held forth as the demand of a strong body of country gentlemen in both Houses of Parliament. As an anonymous paper it would have remained with Addington, who certainly is not eager to snatch at any hint by which he may hope to be relieved from the cares of state. But it is well worth considering, before we regret the measure, whether its being known, with its authors, would not have shackled Pitt still more closely to the labouring-oar he has assumed, if it were open to any body with a specious appearance of probability to say, that he had first endeavoured to creep into power by a secret and

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underhand measure of his friends, and that, having failed in that attempt, he began to cavil at the measures and oppose the continuance of the Administration. Even Pitt's greatest adversaries have looked up to *him* with the involuntary veneration which superior virtue exacts: He never will, he never can, forfeit his claim to that veneration; but, next to his integrity, the world is interested in his reputation, — like Cæsar's wife, he must not be suspected. I repeat, therefore, that although I highly value the good opinion of Sturges and of Canning, and wish to cultivate their friendship, yet I feel nothing but satisfaction in the line I took upon the business in question. I felt, at first, pleased with the idea of an application to the feelings of Addington, but was always averse to any parliamentary measures, from an impression of too delicate a nature to detail. I believe, nay, feel convinced, that nothing would have resulted from an anonymous communication. You see what a hardened sinner I am. Do you take more exercise, and read fewer books; do not cram your brain till you turn your stomach; accumulate less learning and bile, and you will be an wholesome man and a happy politician. I have written so many letters, and sat up to so late an hour (half-past one o'clock), that if I have quieted your conscience in the early part of this letter, I shall probably have composed your senses long before the end of it.

"Ever yours affectionately,

"MULGRAVE."

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How little Lord Mulgrave was disposed to discourage that decided line of conduct in Pitt which the weakness of Addington's administration seemed to render each day more advisable, will be seen from the letter which he addressed to Mr. Pitt while still at Bath, in answer to the one which immediately precedes it. I give them both, upon the same principle as influenced me with respect to former ones, namely, as showing, in the most unexceptionable mode, the real motives and feelings of Mr. Pitt when unreservedly put forth upon points with respect to which there has been so much of misdirected speculation and uncandid misrepresentation.

Right Honourable W. Pitt to Lord Mulgrave.

"Walmer Castle, Feb. 24. 1803.

"Dear Mulgrave,

"I had nearly determined to move towards London about a fortnight since, but I was detained in the first instance by a slight return of bilious attack, followed by a little salutary gout, which I have found almost as effectual, though not quite as pleasant, a remedy as Bath water.

"I have since prolonged my stay, partly for the benefit of air and exercise here, but still more (to say the truth) because, when it comes to the point, I do not yet see any public line that I can at present take which will be free from great objections, or will be likely to be of any real use; and under these circumstances I think it much better to follow my own in-

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clinations by remaining at a distance, than to mix in so unpleasant a scene as the politics of the day. Probably the same motives will still keep me here for some weeks, unless anything should arise to give me a different view of the subject. The only point on which I think it will be, perhaps, impossible for me not to take some part in the course of the session, is that of finance. But the natural occasion for bringing forward anything on that subject will be when Addington brings forward the postscript to his budget, which of course he will not do till after the 5th of April quarter, and therefore not till after Easter. The remark you made on the leading column in the Sun is perfectly just. You may conclude from such paragraphs, as I am led to do from all the communication I had in my way through town, that any opinions of mine are likely enough to be received with general expressions of assent, but very little likely to lead to anything effectual or useful in practice. On the whole, I am afraid there is less and less chance of curing the radical effects [defects?] of what now exists, and there is certainly at present as little of substituting anything better in its room. It is hardly possible to enter by letter into all the grounds on which I form my opinion, though I should like much to be able to talk them over with you. I hope Lady Mulgrave has been going on perfectly well. Pray let me know when you fix your time for coming to town.

"Ever yours,

"WILLIAM PITT."

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Lord Mulgrave to Right Honourable W. Pitt.

"Mulgrave, Feb. 28. 1803.

"Dear Pitt,

"I am sorry to hear you have had any return of bile; I was in hopes it had been entirely removed for a long time to come. A slight touch of the gout is, perhaps, a good thing; not as a substitute for Bath, but as a preparation for a second course of the waters, without any apprehension of that troublesome consequence hanging over you.

"I am glad to find that you are fully and finally convinced that no good is to be worked out of the present composition of Government by private advice or public palliation. Whilst any doubt on this point remained on your mind, you involved yourself in a degree of responsibility as the supposed adviser, because the qualified supporter, of measures which you never could have either suggested or adopted. Indeed, the use which the Ministers and their followers make of your support, points out the inconvenience of it more than perhaps any other circumstance attending it. They rest their defence almost uniformly upon your support and concurrence, rather than upon any detail of the intrinsic merit of their measures. I should think there can be no reason that your friends should give active support to a system from which you no longer hope to extract anything effectual or useful; and perhaps something more than mere neutrality may be expedient to show the real situation and strength of the Ministry. The line of conduct which you deemed

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most consistent with your character and feelings, most conducive to the public welfare, and most essential with reference to a delicate and important consideration * deeply connected with it, I, notwithstanding the positive disadvantages which attended it, cannot but approve. But the lapse of two years, and, above all, the repose of the question from which *danger* might be apprehended, render that sacrifice no longer necessary. I intend to be in town by Saturday the 12th of March, and shall be happy to talk with you on these subjects on the first favourable opportunity after that. In the meantime I have just thrown out these ideas for your consideration, and I shall readily adopt the determination to which you shall come upon reflection. I am, of course, not only speaking of your own personal conduct, but of that which it will be expedient for all your friends to hold. I should be the last person to be disposed to adopt a course of indiscriminate opposition, but I think great and dangerous errors should not be suffered to pass as matters of course, or with even silent acquiescence. Many thanks for your inquiries, Lady Mulgrave is as well as possible.

"Ever yours sincerely,

"MULGRAVE."

In the absence of any correspondence as to the details of a session eventful in the impressions it made on public opinion, and in the debates that occurred upon the unwelcome return of war so soon after

* The allusion is, as on former occasions, to the state of the King's health.

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congratulations but newly interchanged over a hollow peace, I shall here present some spirited remarks upon the principal debates, penned by Mr. Ward immediately on the conclusion of the session. It was ever his habit to address to some favourite correspondent such details, now, alas! lost altogether; and there is a freshness about the observations here given, that shows them to have been dictated by the impressions of the moment: —

"Nearly the whole of the last session exhibited the singular spectacle of a Ministry defended by the mutual jealousy of rival oppositions. No doubt they did what they could for themselves, but it would be a vain and useless question to ask who it was, — whether Mr. Addington or Mr. Fox, whether Lord Hawkesbury or Mr. Sheridan, who best defended the attack of the Grenvilles. On some occasions, and those not unfrequent, a stranger might justly have asked where were the Ministry? For, amidst the brilliant contest of energetic minds that were engaged upon questions purely ministerial, the Ministry itself seemed a neutral power.

"In this happy state of things passed the first months of the session; and they certainly had ability enough to abstain from interfering, where every blow, on either side, was sure to take effect upon persons who, while they served them essentially, did not serve them from good-will. I can liken them to nothing so well as Sir Archy, who pleased himself with the hope of carrying off the lady, while he got his rivals into a '*damned good scrape*' with one another."

Upon the debate in which they had to announce

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that the termination of this hollow peace could no longer be delayed, he says, —

"Even when the fiery ordeal came through which they were to pass, and account to a wounded nation for the fearful state to which they had reduced it; in that hour, terrible to a minister, when he is to prove to millions of persons, who fancy themselves at peace, that it is right to part with their blood and to risk their existence, to give copiously from their labours and yet augment their toil; even then, these wonderfully fated persons were saved by the ability of others. Men rallied to their standard who disapproved their whole conduct; and they conquered, not merely like Augustus, by lieutenants, but by lieutenants adverse to their systems, their persons, and their powers.

"In that momentous crisis, there was delivered by Mr. Fox a speech, of sophistry indeed, but of sophistry so commanding, of such embarrassing splendour, such terrible illustration, that if it failed to destroy them, or if its effects were resisted, the Cabinet had no share in stemming the conflict.

"The happy star of the Ministry did not, however, abandon them; they were saved again by a vigour not their own.

"As long as one of us remains who witnessed the interest and the charm of that solemn discussion, the extraordinary powers of intellect and the virtuous energies displayed by him who for seventeen years had been the hope of the nation, and on that occasion seemed to surpass himself, will not, cannot, ever be forgotten. The Genius of Britain seemed really

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opposed to the Demon of France. Her cause was asserted, her wrongs made to speak and cry aloud for vengeance, with a force of eloquence, a pathos of soul, and a vigour of mind, which no ministers, acting as they had done, could, even with equal powers, by possibility have effected. For, crippled, struggling, and embarrassed with the impediments of their own *personal* cause, the excellent public cause which they thus had marred could never have been put forward in its innate purity.

"In what I have said, I am very far from meaning that Mr. Fox's speech would have swayed the House into the amendment, had Mr. Pitt either not preceded him, or had the Windhams been altogether silent. What I mean is, that Mr. Fox painted the hardships and difficulties with which the nation was about to be overwhelmed, with a master-hand so terribly strong, and brought the question of the necessity of the war so shrewdly into doubt in the minds of many, that it was necessary for the safety of any administration, whether directors or servants of the public, whether enlightened statesmen or humble clerks, to take off the edge of that forcible impression. This service they did not do for themselves; and (as they *attempted* it) I suppose they *could* not do it. It was done by one who was then not theirs, but the nation's friend, in conjunction with Mr. Windham, who was confessedly their censurer, and nobly filled the post of honour.

"It was thus that after Mr. Fox had rescued them from Mr. Windham and the Grenvilles, the latter and

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Mr. Pitt defended them from Mr. Fox. The good fortune of their lot did not, however, end with the adventure of that night; another was preparing, in which they were again saved, more by the extraordinary difference of opinion among their assailants, than their own virtue. I speak of the memorable 3rd of June*, when Mr. Addington's good ministerial votes were higher in number than ever they had been in the very first division he adventured against the patron of his youth and author of his fortune; where Mr. Windham, it is supposed, was made to feel the resentment of good men; and where Mr. Pitt, it has been tauntingly said, heard from Lord Hawkesbury the dismal sound of his funeral oration.

"As I was one of those who divided with Mr. Pitt upon that occasion, and as it forms the most remarkable epoch in the parliamentary history of Mr. Addington's power; as much wilful misrepresentation has been raised upon it by malevolence, and suffered, if not encouraged, by the interested views that were served by it; as it has been deeply lamented by many of his friends, and adroitly turned to profit by those whose safety, perhaps, depended upon the diminution of his fame,—I will digress for a few moments from the topics immediately before me, and endeavour, though slightly, to investigate the subject. Mr. Pitt's return to Parliament was perhaps hailed with more interest and expectation than ever had been excited by a private individual. Exclusive of the vast preemi-

* On the occasion of Mr. Patten's motion.

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nence of his abilities, the great posts he had so long filled, and the phalanx of friends he was supposed to command, he came at a time unusually critical, and big with nothing less than the destiny of the nation. The most tremendous war that the state had ever encountered lay ready to be discussed after months of anxious and protracted negotiation. His opinions of those who had conducted that negotiation and resolved upon that war, though formerly favourable, were now not known, or known but to few. It is inconceivable with what eagerness it was contended by different parties, that he was perfectly friendly, or perfectly adverse, even after the negotiation for his return to office had failed. That negotiation of itself presented a host of conjectures, of hopes, and of fears. It was known that it had broken off, but upon what exact grounds, or leaving what sentiments of respect, attachment, contempt, or aversion, was confided to a very few chosen friends. At any rate, with regard to the main point of parliamentary conduct, to have entertained any negotiation at all for a junction of forces with the persons who were to be put upon their trial, augured a little, at least, in favour of support. On the other hand, those for whom it was supposed he had sacrificed his return of power were known to be decidedly for censure; and Mr. Fox, whose opinion was of the very first consideration, made no secret that he thought the war unjust.

"Under these interesting circumstances, he entered the House of Commons on the debate of the King's Message, where, as he fell in with the plan agreed

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upon by all, of separating the conduct of Ministers from the cause of the country, nothing could be collected as to the opinion of their persons. But the altered style of 'right honourable gentleman,' from 'right honourable friend,' repeated once, or at most a second time, was eagerly caught up by some, and as eagerly attempted to be explained by others as if it had been as strong an indication of hostility as proof of holy writ. In the interval between this debate and Mr. Patten's motion, the public mind was lost in uncertainty: it was doubtful whether he would not again retire from Parliament without developing his real opinion. If I may be permitted to hazard a conjecture, to this latter measure he was of himself inclined, from a disinclination to embarrass what he thought, in the circumstances of the time, ought to be left free; perhaps from a still remaining glow of regard, which, once conceived by a mind of feeling, is long in abandoning its object. It was, I believe, from the pressing instigation of his friends alone, who forcibly set before him what was due to himself, that he yielded so far as to come forward with the little hostility which he actually evinced.

"Whether any other particular motion than that which he made,—whether the previous question, or a simple declaration of his sentiments without any motion at all,—would have been a better proceeding, is too unimportant to become an object of inquiry.

"The great duty to be fulfilled was to come forward at the expense of all old attachments, which towards many, I believe, existed in their full force,

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and with one was sealed with the nearest ties of blood *, and make that public avowal which at once was to put an end to all misrepresentation. His opinion being what it was, and the declaration of it made, it was of little consequence whether any motion was proposed, or whether his vote should be merely withheld.

"But who will not pause in the midst of these mysteries, and contemplate with wonder the fidelity of that fortune which had so often protected a trembling Administration? Amidst the extraordinary turns which were taken by the debate, the original question, that which had excited every man's interest and industry,—that for which the whole House had assembled in judgment,—seemed altogether lost in inferior matter. Posterity will wonder, and foreigners must have been surprised, that in the most solemn assembly of a nation, claiming to sit in judgment upon its rulers, the cause of the accused was scarcely brought forward. I altogether pass by the transitory observations upon a few partial points, which were made by several private persons, whose support I have no sort of intention to disparage. But I assert, that the forcible and convincing impeachment of their conduct, contained in one of the ablest arguments of the session, was not only not answered, but was entirely eluded, by the accused themselves.

"Mr. Addington was the only one who spoke in the debate previous to Mr. Pitt's motion; and from that time the whole object of the contest was changed."

* His elder brother, Lord Chatham.

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CHAP. VII.

MR. WARD GOES TO WEST MOULSEY.—ANECDOTE OF MR. PITT THERE.—CLOSE OF THE SESSION.—LETTERS AS TO ADDINGTON'S PREPARATIONS FOR IMPENDING INVASION.—LETTERS FROM LORD LOWTHER TO MR. WARD.—COMMENCEMENT OF THE NEW SESSION WITH COMBINED ATTACK ON ADDINGTON.—MR. WARD'S PAMPHLET ON THE PREVIOUS NEGOTIATIONS.—MR. PITT TO MR. WARD THEREON.—LORDS MULGRAVE AND LOWTHER ON THE SAME.—CHANGE OF MINISTRY.—QUARREL BETWEEN SPAIN AND ENGLAND.—MELANCHOLY ACCIDENT DURING THE CAPTURE OF SPANISH TREASURE-SHIPS.—MR. WARD'S PAMPHLET ON COMMENCEMENT OF INTERNATIONAL WARS.—HE IS APPOINTED UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

AFTER the last letter we have given, owing to the return of Lords Lowther and Mulgrave to London for the session, the correspondence to which we owe so many details is interrupted. This is, however, the less to be regretted; not because the times were less interesting, for it was during this period that the declaration of war between this country and France took place, and that those negotiations or communications between Pitt and Addington respecting changes in the Administration which have been the subject of so much misrepresentation, were proceeding. * Of all

* It was upon the proposal on the part of Addington, in the course of these negotiations, that Pitt should accept office in a Cabinet which was to be still Addington's, that Lord Mulgrave, writing to Pitt, says, "Such an arrangement, if you could have been brought to assent to it, would have weakened you as much as you could be weakened, and strengthened the Government as little as it would be possible for you to strengthen it."

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this, however, we have already not only the very full particulars supplied by Lord Malmesbury, but the remarks of Mr. Ward himself, which we have already given. These latter were contained in a pamphlet which attracted considerable attention at the time, being then and since supposed (though without any foundation in fact) to be published with the high authority of Mr. Pitt himself, and to the contents of which I shall afterwards have further occasion to refer.

It is well known that all the expectations of an immediate change, which had gained such strength in the spring of 1803, died away in the progress of the session, which closed on the 12th of August, with Addington still Prime Minister, after it had been protracted to the very unusual duration of nine months from its commencement.

In the latter part of the session, Mr. Ward was under considerable anxiety about his wife's health, which was never very robust, and had been lately much shaken. He was induced, for change of air, to take at West Moulsey a place called Spring Croft; which, though neither grand in the extent of its accommodation, nor even cheerful in its aspect, possessed, partly from contrast with the excitement and bustle of London, and partly from the cool refuge it offered from summer heats, ample attractions to both.

It is pleasant, after following him through the intoxicating anxieties of political projects, to peruse the following extract from a letter written on his first arrival at this humble home, in the choice of which

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a very insignificant rent had not been without its influence: —

R. Ward, Esq., to Lady Mulgrave.

"Spring Croft, West Moulsey, Surrey,
July 31. 1803.

"I have taken the pen actually from my dear wife's hand, and mean to give you the joy of knowing that she is, I think, well recovered from her complaint. I say her complaint, by which I mean cough and fever; but the weakness incident to so strong a shake, and to the fatigue of getting almost from bed to drive sixteen miles on a hot day, naturally remains. The change of place will do every thing for her; she is highly delighted, not to say (like her children) mad, with her new abode. You will say, instead of children, read husband, and perhaps are not far wrong. We have all the happiness attendant upon the purest rural pleasures at the cheapest rate. Already we have a pig, a dozen of cocks and hens, a milch ass, and to-morrow brings us a milch cow. These will set everybody up that wants it; and we are prepared for it by a quiet and retirement which bid defiance to Buonaparte, and even to Ireland. And though the latter kept me from accompanying them hither, and detained me in the House a whole night, with all my interest excited, yet the moment I got within the gates of my — Sabine, I must say, not my Tusculan — villa, every thing but peace and family happiness was lost sight of."

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It is this humble residence which furnishes the scene of an anecdote kindly related to me by the Right Honourable J. Wilson Croker, as it was furnished to him by Mr. Ward himself. It is curious as supplying an instance of that playful humour in Mr. Pitt, for which (though well known to his more immediate associates) he would hardly have had credit among those who only saw him in public and in his official intercourse.

Mr. Pitt had come to dine with Mr. Ward in his retreat at West Moulsey. Summer was closing fast, and damp and cold had robbed gloomy firs, a shady lawn, and small rooms level with the ground, of their chief attractions. "What could persuade you," inquired Mr. Pitt, as he looked around him, "what could persuade you, Ward, to come to such a dismal place?" "That which is the grand motive to a poor man,—money," replied Ward. "Indeed! and pray how much do they give you?" inquired Pitt.

The session once closed, and the mere excitement of politics passed away, men's minds were turned with eagerness and anxiety to the consideration of what measure of security had been prepared by the minister against the danger of invasion, then supposed to be immediately impending. The following letters, referring more immediately to that subject, will be read with interest at the present day, when the necessity of such precautions, even in the absence of any immediate danger, has been made the subject of discussion. They will also serve to show the sort of opinion then entertained of Addington's administra-

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tive abilities,—not by critics on the floor of the House, but in the familiar correspondence of friendship and kindred. Allusions will also be found to a pamphlet then lately published, entitled "A Few Cursory Remarks upon the State of Parties during the Administration of the Right Honourable Henry Addington: by A Near Observer." These pages, which professed to give a minute and semi-official account of all the communications that had taken place in the spring of this year between Addington and Pitt, were written in an epigrammatic, though flippant, style, and attracted much attention when they appeared. The attacks upon Mr. Pitt were more personal on his character, and more depreciating to his talents, than any that had yet been put forth, and excited corresponding indignation on the part of Pitt's friends. The author, for some time concealed, was at length known to be Mr. Bently.

Lord Mulgrave to the Hon. Major-Gen. Phipps.

"York, Sept. 9. 1803.

"My dear Edmund*,

"I envy you the entertaining and interesting tour you are about to undertake. As it is, in a great measure, a military tour, you will collect much from the flashes of the Modern's† mind, who is already

* He was at this time accompanying Pitt in his tour as Warden of the Cinque Ports, to inspect the various fortifications and harbours.

† A name familiarly given to Pitt, as the "Modern" Shakspeare, on account of his universal genius, by the great admirers of the "immortal bard."

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an excellent soldier. I am sorry the 31st will not have the advantage of being seen by him. They will have left Bexhill before you arrive there.

"I have just received and read the Observer's * mass of insipid sarcasm, and most impudent and unqualified falsehood; and I beg you will tell Pitt that, whilst I think with him that they are impudent, I by no means agree that they are innocent, *lies*. To the near observers of him and his conduct, to the merchants and inhabitants of London, they may be so; but at a distance, in the country, and amongst country gentlemen of considerable weight and consequence, some impression may be made by an uncontradicted assertion of facts, such as these amongst many others, without foundation:—'That Mr. Pitt, who dined with the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Queen's birth-day, by some trifling form and solemnity confirmed his bond of union with him, and took occasion to declare that he would come to town and give Government his assistance upon the first question of importance, and upon ANY which they might think required his support:'—that 'Lord Melville was as much hurt and disappointed at the *extravagant* proposition on which the negotiation went off, as the Ministers themselves were:'—that 'the public will judge whether, if the author is capable of deceiving it, Mr. Pitt and other gentlemen are likely to submit to the following *misrepresentations:* that Mr.

* A Few Cursory Remarks upon the State of Parties during the Administration of the Right Honourable H. Addington. By A Near Observer, 6th edition, 1803, p. 44.

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Pitt and Lord Melville might have come in on a footing beyond equality; that a communication with the King would not have been wanting, if even those terms would have been assented to, but that it broke off upon the *positive unalterable demand* of Mr. Pitt himself to bring back with him Lords Grenville and Spencer, with other noble and honourable persons, who had disapproved every measure of Government, and were in the habits of personal incivilities.'

"I mention these particularly, because they are brought forward with a challenge for their contradiction, if they are not admitted and acquiesced in by Mr. Pitt and his friends. I know the obvious answer, that any anonymous scribbler may draw you into a paper-war by such a defiance, if you do not despise and disregard it in all cases. But—besides one's being often led to answer an impudent advertiser because he says, to save trouble, *he* shall consider you as a subscriber if you do not answer his hand-bill—in this case the pamphlet is issued with a kind of authority, and has spread so far, and gone through so many editions, by that means, that I think it may make some impression, if it be not either refuted by some able anonymous writer exposing its weakness and fallacy, or by Lord Melville declaring it to be a lie from beginning to end,—which he may very well do in his place in Parliament, as he has upon more than one occasion condescended to take notice of pamphlets in that way. I cannot be satisfied that barefaced calumny should pass current, merely upon the involuntary respect which trusts to an imprudent excess

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of disguised contempt. I confess honestly to you, that I am very sore and impatient under the impression of the shameless libel, which is, I suppose, the sagacious production of the learned Matthew Montague, who, if he be the 'Near Observer,' is as near-sighted in his mental as in his optic faculties. I shall close this subject like the angry man's song in the Maid of the Mill: 'But I won't—but I won't put myself in a passion.'

"You see, by the length of my letters, how little I have to do here. The country gentlemen complain so much of the unsteadiness of Government, and the deputy-lieutenants grumble so much at the inactivity of the lord-lieutenants, that all the zeal of the county evaporates in professions and regrets. I have yet but two corps reported to me,—one of 300 cavalry, another of about as many infantry. Many, however, are forming. There was a drunken election of officers, a few days ago, at York, and, by what I learn, the selection has not been throughout of the best description. Adieu.

"Ever yours most affectionately,

"M."

Lord Mulgrave to the Hon. Major-Gen. Phipps.

"York, Sept. 3. 1803.

"My dear Edmund,

"I shall direct this to London, though I hope, for your sake, that it will be sent after you to Walmer Castle. The discontent is great and universal in this

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part of the country at the foolish limitation and ungracious dismissal of the Volunteers. I have just read the Kent Resolutions; I should have known the hand if I had not before known the enlightened view of the subject which suggested them: if they were generally adopted through the country (as I am convinced they would be if they were proposed at all the meetings of lieutenancy), I think they would go far towards that first great measure of national strength — the removal of the present Ministers. The truth is, that when they were driven into the adoption of Pitt's grand measure, they were not aware of the extent and magnitude of it; and when the great body of an animated, zealous, and energetic country was roused and put in motion, they could not conceive any mode of regulating and directing the power they had raised. They had not been forcible enough, in their weakness, to prepare any specious mode of dismissing the unwieldy and unfortunate zeal which had been excited: for if they had contrived to limit the number in any one of their mass of acts and re-acts of Parliament, they might, under the shelter of Parliament, have undermined the energy of the country, without turning it so directly against themselves; but there is not now a village (at least in this part of the country) which is not full of indignation at the rejection of their services. As I came from Mulgrave to York, a yeoman of Pickering came to my chaise-door and asked whether the non-commissioned officers to drill them were coming. I told him they would be in the town that evening. 'I'se been drilling them myself,'

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he said, 'every morning, an hour before work, and every evening as long as it was good light.' I praised his zeal; but he added, with a chop-fallen countenance almost as long as his Maypole figure, 'But, my lord, will they have us, after all? We have spent a deal of time, and are ready to spend our money, to keep the French out; but we should be loth to be refused after all.' I could only tell him that I had offered the greatest part of my tenantry, to be commanded by my brother Augustus, and that I did not know whether they would be accepted or not. I am glad to hear that Pitt does not over-exert himself by long rides. He has a long winter's campaign to serve in London, after the labour of the summer shall be over. I have (*entre nous*) written to the Duke of York, to represent to him the necessity of appointing some General officers. I have proposed a brigadier at least to every 5000 men, and one major-general for Yorkshire and another for Lincolnshire, to attend the drill, within limits assigned to the brigadiers of the Volunteers' corps; to make themselves personally acquainted with the gentlemen who command them, to conciliate their regard, engage their confidence, and instruct them in conversation upon the general principles and essential details of service in the field. By this means something like a force may be drawn from the Volunteers, a little in the shape of an army; but as they are, with no habits of subordination, no relative and understood superiority of command by seniority of military rank, amongst them, I confess myself totally incapable of turning them to any effectual use in case of invasion. If I

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could find out the senior officers amongst them, it is out of all probable calculation that those persons would be competent to the command of a large body, or willing to undertake it. You know how impossible it is to act with effect, on actual service, without defined and despotic gradations of authority. The more I reflect upon it, the more convinced I am that it would be impossible to bring them into action without experienced officers to lead them; and those officers, too, acquainted with the characters and disposition of the commanding officers, and with the state of discipline of the corps. Whenever we have to contend, it will be with the picked troops of a long-tried army, and with officers of great and recent experience; and to oppose to them raw disjointed corps, led by zealous and brave country gentlemen, 'who never set a squadron in the field, nor the division of a battle know more than a spinster,' is to court confusion, and to ensure fruitless massacre and dear-bought defeat. I cannot think without disgust of the cool confidence with which pikes were pressed upon masses of untrained, unformed peasants, that they might exercise their spirit with that weapon against the enemy in case he should land. The penetration of the people induced them to reject the idea of being so armed and left to themselves. The Sea Fencibles alone, from the habit of considering them as a good defence against boarders, practise the pike-exercise with alacrity. I am convinced that no progress of the French, in the first instance, would have given them so much spirits, or have operated so strongly on the minds of the people, as the easy con-

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quest they must have gained, with musketry, artillery, and discipline, against a mob of brave fellows with flimsy and unwieldy pikes. The pikemen in the days of Gustavus Adolphus, and afterwards in the time of Montecucculi*, were called the jewels of the army; but they were the most tried and best disciplined soldiers, acting under the protection of musketry and cannon,—part of a deep and compact order of battalion, and opposed only to cavalry or routed infantry. I don't know how it has happened, but I find myself getting into an essay on the tactics of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which is a horrible payment for your very lively letter. It is so long since I have written to you on military subjects, that, persuaded as I am by Pitt that I am Cagliostro's elder brother, I must have been led into this by supposing our last conversation was in the century when pikes were in use amongst disciplined troops. When you see Sir Henry Harvey, pray assure him of my very sincere respect and regard. I hope Pitt does not forget that we are to pass our Christmas at Bath, if we are not making a winter campaign against Buonaparte. Remember me kindly to him, if this finds you at Walmer. How amiable it is of Pitt to take compassion on poor Lady Hester Stanhope, and that in a way which must break in upon his habits of life! He is as good as he is great.

"Yours affectionately,

"MULGRAVE."

* It will be remembered, that he, in the same campaign, resisted successively Turenne and Condé.

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Lord Mulgrave to R. Ward, Esq.

"November 16. 1803.

"My dear Ward,

"I can truly give you information of Pitt's intentions. He will not attend the meeting of Parliament, not thinking it expedient to leave his post in the present threatened state of the coast. He intends however, if possible, to go to the House before the recess, and his absence from the meetings proceeds only from his not thinking it right just now to leave his duties as Lord Warden, and Colonel of the Cinque Ports battalions. You know, my dear Ward, that the moderation of one, at least, of Pitt's moderate friends arises from a conviction that nobody can judge so well as Pitt himself of what is the most wise and honourable conduct for him to pursue; and that the head of a political party has a right to expect that kind of deference from his friends, as long as they continue to call themselves such. How far such a line of conduct is most conducive to the public welfare, the obstacles to Pitt's return to power which have arisen from the apprehension of Lord Grenville in a certain quarter, and of those who have followed his line, seem to me sufficient testimony. For my own part, I have an unfeigned deference to Pitt's judgment, and an implicit confidence in his virtues and patriotism, and I shall always candidly and fully apprise him of my opinions; but I never will act for him without his knowledge, nor against him when he has informed me of his views, wishes, and judgment for the conduct

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of his friends. Whenever my opinion either of his judgment or virtue changes, I will follow the dictates of my own, and declare myself unconnected with him. I do not think I have talents to guide, or influence to *spoil* him: the public opinion sanctions his judgment, and justifies my concurrence in it. The whole tenor of his life, the broad foundation of his fame, the great success of his measures, are all the consequence of his not conceiving with the judgment of ordinary men; of his not walking in the narrow path of short-sighted speculation; of his not following the routine of ordinary politicians; of his not judging of extraordinary events and delicate predicaments as common understandings would do: in short, he is what he is. His line of conduct is not the line of conduct of the common herd; and his place can neither be filled nor regained, in a manner worthy of his greatness, but by himself.

"I had heard, from good authority, that Fox did wish to see him (Pitt) Minister at Home, and to be *his* ambassador to Russia and the other Northern Powers; but I never could conceive that he would be so fond of diplomatic travelling as to represent the Doctor, and make up his political prescriptions.

"Ever affectionately yours,

"MULGRAVE."

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Lord Lowther to R. Ward, Esq.

"Whitehaven, Nov. 16. 1803.

"After the long letter you were so good to send me, I can hardly deserve so much of your notice again; but on the subject of that letter I ought to have acknowledged the many very excellent hints you gave me, and have thanked you for your very intelligent communication upon it. But I have really had so many occupations in listening to, or rather in adjusting, the various disputes, contentions, and disagreements*, that I have scarcely had a moment to spare for any other purpose; and, indeed, the miserable portion of intellect that has fallen to my lot is confused and perplexed with this dry and unsatisfactory work, till it is scarce able to form a distinct opinion on any subject. On public matters, I have heard no more than the public papers contain, except the letter from Lord Camden, a few days ago, in which he promised me another from Walmer, to which place he was going on the 10th. In that letter, however, he said he believed it was not Pitt's intention to be in town at the meeting of Parliament, and that he was afraid he would not be induced to depart from the line of moderation he had so strictly observed last year. Though I am fully sensible of the honour the public do me in associating my name with Mr. Pitt's on many occasions, I do not wish to have credit, if any

* With reference to the preparations against invasion.

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credit belongs to it, for recommending a procedure I cannot on this occasion approve. Since last November the state of the country is so completely changed, the character of the governors so fully developed, and the state of things so perilous, that I think no man in his senses can hesitate in making up his mind to the line he ought to pursue. But without a chief, to form a connected battalion, united by principle as well as inclination, and established on the basis of public utility and public spirit, what can the loose attacks of a few light skirmishers effect? The great strength of ministerial support rests on the King's favour, and I think *that* fortress will not easily be shaken. As to Fox's union with Pitt, I cannot think it probable. I know that early in the summer, at a dinner of the old Opposition, at the Duke of Norfolk's, the sentiments you have heard me entertain were pretty strongly expressed; but, as I understood it, it went merely to say, that he preferred a government of talents to one of incapacity. If Pitt was in office, he would soon receive such an accession of ability to assist him, as would answer the purposes of government; and how far Fox could forego some of his political principles, so as to render an union desirable, is more than I can conjecture. Pitt, I am sure, neither could nor would concede any thing in this respect. I have no intention, at present, of being in town at the meeting of Parliament, but shall be very much obliged to you to let me know what passes, directed to me at Lowther. Whenever Pitt goes up I should wish to meet him, and I think so would Lord Mulgrave too. I have no

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order of the kind you allude to. Is it true that Tierney has appointed a man who has been secretary to the Corresponding Society, to be a clerk in his own office? Is Lord H———* [awkesbury] to go to the House of Peers?

"Thursday morning.

"I was interrupted when I had written thus far yesterday, and have since that received yours of the 12th. I wish I could answer your letter satisfactorily, and I was in hopes a communication from Walmer might have enabled me, in some degree, to have done so. My present duty in the country and with my regiment will necessarily, pending the apprehension of immediate invasion, supersede all others. That alarm once subsided, or the project defeated, I think we may then have a prospect of assembling with our whole force, and exercising all the privileges open hostility will afford. In this sort of warfare, this contention of sentiment and feeling, it is difficult to say what is allowable, and what is not, of tenderness to honourable gentlemen and right honourable friends, so as to form a part of the ways and means by which a removal of the Doctor is to be effected. It will be too like a game at foils, instead of a free and generous effort of courage and skill, contending for victory at the risk of life and reputation. Determined hostility is much more congenial to my disposition than the lukewarm system we have lately pursued; and if Pitt could be prevailed on to take his proper station, you would

* He took his seat in the House of Lords a few days afterwards.

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find me ready and willing to act any part in the performance I might be qualified to undertake. I do not regret, in the least degree, any part of our past political conduct, — but the reasons which rendered that conduct prudent, at that time, no longer exist.

" Yours, &c.

" LOWTHER."

At length the time had arrived when the shortcomings and mistakes of the Ministry, in the preparations that had been made to resist invasion, were to be openly discussed in Parliament. On the 9th of December, — after a speech from Mr. Bragge, then Secretary of War, in which he took credit for a disposable force of 278,149 men, exclusive of volunteers, but including 110,000 militia, the volunteer force of Great Britain and Ireland being further assumed to amount to 450,000, — the attack upon the Minister was opened by Mr. Windham in an eloquent and amusing speech. In it, after reciting the lines originally addressed, most ungallantly, to women, ascribing first many faults to men, but concluding thus, —

" Poor women have but two;
There's nothing good they say, and nothing right they do,"—

he asserted them to be much more justly applicable to Mr. Addington's Ministry. He then entered at length into numerous objections to the volunteer system in general, and to the ineffective manner in which it had been worked. He was followed by Mr. Pitt, who confined himself to suggestions for the future, which, however, in their nature involved the admission of

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considerable error in the past. Such moderation was by no means approved by T. Grenville and Fox, who in the same debate urged, with much force, objections against the whole conduct of Ministers at so critical a juncture; and although a division was avoided by them, the arguments and union of such mighty opponents showed that the fate of the Ministry was sealed.

The hint thrown out by Lord Mulgrave as to the mischief that might ensue from allowing the pamphlet by "A Near Observer," with all its misrepresented facts, to go unnoticed, was not lost upon Mr. Ward. Notwithstanding that the deficiency was soon, to a certain extent, supplied by a pamphlet since known to be the production of Mr. Long, and professing to come from "A More Accurate Observer," * yet there still seemed much room for further comment. He set himself earnestly to work, assisted by private communications as to the real nature of the negotiations that *had* taken place between Addington and Pitt in the spring of 1803, to lay a correct statement of the facts before the public. At the latter end of the year 1803, there issued from the press the pamphlet called "A View of the Relative Situations of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington previous to and on the Night of Mr. Patten's Motion," which is made the subject of the following letters, and from which I have already made some selections. It will be seen that it was not only written, but published, without

* A Plain Answer to the Misrepresentations and Calumnies contained in the Cursory Remarks of A Near Observer. By A More Accurate Observer, 3rd edition, 1803.

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the knowledge of even Lord Mulgrave, though, imdiately that nobleman perused it, the tree was known by its fruits. Nor is it less important to the character of Mr. Pitt to show by the letter I subjoin, which I found among Mr. Ward's papers, that this eager defence of his motives and actions never met his eye till it was before the public; and that, even then, he was ignorant of the name of the author: —

Right Honourable W. Pitt to R. Ward, Esq.

"Walmer Castle, Jan. 31. 1804.

"Dear Sir,

"I am impatient to thank you for your letter, though I am unable to return as full an answer as I wish on the subject of it, as by some accident the pamphlet has not been forwarded to me in town. I have now written for it. In the mean time, if I were to judge only from the specimen of some material passages which have been extracted in the newspapers, I should have very little doubt what my opinion will be of the rest of the work. Now, however, that I know who is the author, I can hardly want any other proof to satisfy me that my cause could not have been placed in better hands, and that I shall have every reason to think myself highly indebted to the zeal and friendship which has prompted the undertaking.

"I am, with great regard,

"Dear Sir,

"Your faithful and obedient servant,

"W. PITT."

It is well known that, after Easter, even the small

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majority in favour of Ministers gradually dwindled away until, on the 25th of April, it only amounted to thirty-seven, in a house of 443 members. The resignation of Addington, and the return to power of Pitt, took place immediately; Lord Mulgrave occupying in the administration the post of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Whether it was that this office presented no opening for Mr. Ward in immediate connexion with Lord Mulgrave, or that he had not yet made up his mind to sacrifice to politics the greater certainty of his daily improving prospects at the Bar, I know not. Certain it is, that he might now be said to be on the direct road for the appointment of Solicitor-General; and that the doubtful appearance of the political horizon suggested great deliberation ere a man of small private fortune, and a large family of children, should determine on sacrificing all that he had so long toiled to establish. On the one hand he felt an increasing dislike to his profession, fostered no doubt by the contrast its sober realities offered to the feverish changes of a most feverish period;—on the other, he was surrounded by warm friends, both male and female, who failed not to urge upon him the prudence of not hastily giving up the position at the Bar he had already gained.

After the accession of Mr. Pitt's Ministry, parties continued to be very equally balanced; so that the majority in favour of the Ministry was frequently below that which had suggested to Mr. Addington the necessity of resigning.

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It is unnecessary to follow in detail operations of Mr. Pitt's Government, with which Mr. Ward from his position had nothing to do. The failure of all attempts against the French fleet, the ridicule produced by the results of the Catamaran project, are matters of contemporary history with which he personally is in no respect connected. On the 5th of October, however, an event occurred which, as it gave employment to his ready pen, and furnished occasion for the exhibition of his knowledge of international law, must be specially noticed.

The relations between Spain and France, suggesting doubts as to the exact light in which it would be most prudent for us to view them, had long been matter of anxiety to successive Ministries. By a secret article in a treaty, known as the treaty of St. Ildephonso, and concluded in 1796, Spain had become bound to furnish to France, a contingent of troops, or its equivalent in money. Isolated as England had become in her hostile operations against France, it was deemed the interest of the former to confine, if possible, to neutrality, and of the latter, to force into open hostility against us a power so important as that of Spain. The policy of the preceding Administration had been, while threatening Spain if she should go openly against us (and while maintaining our right to regard as an act of hostility against us her observance of the provisions of the treaty of St. Ildephonso), to intimate to that power that for the present we should be disposed to overlook her carry-

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ing out that treaty to the extent of furnishing a sum of money only, and no troops; this, however, on condition of her maintaining on all other points strict neutrality, to the limits duly laid down and particularised by us.

At the time Mr. Pitt succeeded to power, negotiations were still going on in this sense, while Spain was in constant expectation of the arrival of vast treasures from her American colonies in frigates that had been despatched for the purpose. Many grievances had been already alleged by us against Spain, for which no satisfactory redress or explanation had been afforded; these, if unexplained or unredressed, would (as he distinctly intimated) become cause for war. Men-of-war had been equipped and manned in their harbours to which they assigned what to us appeared impossible, and therefore fictitious, destinations; the troops of France had been allowed a passage through Spain; and a communication of the exact terms of the treaty of St. Ildefonso had, notwithstanding our repeated demands, been refused to us. It soon became evident, that the negotiation was merely protracted by the Spanish Government until, with the arrival of her treasure, she might safely throw off the mask, and declare her determination to carry out to the fullest extent, and in all its still unexplained provisions, the tenor of the offensive treaty. Mr. Pitt was not the minister to submit to such chicanery: he had before him the recollection of the conduct of the great Lord Chatham upon an occasion so curiously parallel, that it deserves to

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be here noticed, referring, as it does, to the arrangement of a treaty very nearly corresponding to that which formed the source of the present troubles.

To make use, then, of an authority of a date forty years before the occurrences on which Mr. Pitt had to decide, it will be found that, in the words of the "Annual Register" for 1761, "there was a perfect union of affections, interests, and councils between the Courts of France and Spain." That the Mr. Pitt of those days urged upon the Cabinet that the intentions of Spain were by no means equivocal; that a war on this account was absolutely inevitable; that if, for the present moment, the Spaniards rather delayed their declaration of war than laid aside their hostile intentions, it was in order to strike the blow at their own time, and with the greater effect: that, therefore, their reasons for delaying to act were the very motives which ought to induce us to act with the utmost speed and utmost vigour: that we ought to consider the evasions of that court as a refusal of satisfaction, and that refusal as a declaration of war: that we ought from prudence, as well as from spirit, to secure to ourselves the first blow; and to be practically convinced that the early and effective measures, which had so large a share in reducing France to this dependence upon Spain, would also be the fittest for deterring or disabling Spain from affording any protection to France: that if any war could provide its own resources, it must be a war with Spain: that their flota had not yet arrived; and that the taking of it would at once disable theirs, and strengthen

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our hands: that he would allow our enemies, whether secret or declared, no time to think and recollect themselves."*

Such would have been found by Mr. Pitt to have been the recorded sentiments, and the intended conduct, of his great predecessor on an occasion so curiously parallel. Upon further consulting the history of those times, he would have found it related that these proposals being overruled, and the Spanish treasure safe in port, the whole face of things was changed. To use again the words of the same contemporary authority,—"The Spanish flota was now arrived with a very rich cargo; the French arms had made a considerable progress; and, after some angry discussions, the English minister (the Earl of Bristol) was told that he "might return when and in what manner was most convenient to him." With such a precedent before him, referring as it did to the very occasion when a treaty, similar to that which formed the ground of present complaint, had been arranged, Mr. Pitt did not hesitate as to how he ought to act, and orders were given accordingly.

On the 5th of October, Captain Moore, of the Indefatigable, with three other frigates, the Lively, Medusa, and Amphion, when off Cadiz, fell in with four large Spanish frigates, which immediately formed the line of battle a-head on the approach of the English, and continued to steer in for Cadiz. These turned out to be the Spanish treasure-ships, which had

* Annual Register, 1761, p. 42.

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got so nearly within reach of safety when they were thus encountered. The English captain, after firing a gun to bring them to a parley, communicated his general orders to prevent the arrival or departure of any Spanish men-of-war, and his intention to detain them, but at the same time his desire to effect this with as little loss of blood as possible. Unfortunately the amount of force was so nearly equal, that the Spanish admiral could not yield without loss of honour, and an immediate engagement ensued. Before this had continued ten minutes, one of the Spanish frigates was accidentally blown up; and very shortly after, the remaining frigates, with their whole treasure, consisting of about 4,000,000 of dollars, fell into the hands of the English.

Such was the state of things upon which the pen of Mr. Ward was to be employed. An operation, intended to be a mere detainer of ships and material of war (which, according to all writers on international law, *treasure* is, on certain occasions, to be considered), had, in fact, assumed the appearance of actual warfare. Such a result, while negotiations were actually going on between the respective governments and their representatives, both at Madrid and at London, was much commented on. The Opposition members were loud in their denunciations against such a proceeding before any declaration of war, as a breach of the law of nations; while the French, ever eager to raise against the English a European cry, stigmatized it as an act evincing "the suppression of all sense of shame," "equally destitute

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of honour and glory," — "a breach of forms held most sacred among nations."*

Not only had the loss of 300 lives by the unfortunate explosion on board the Spanish frigate warped the judgment and diverted the attention from the real question, viz. whether the English had a right to *detain* the treasure-ships, but an affecting incident (which had as little real bearing upon that question) had occurred to excite still further the *feelings* of those who, even in matters of judgment, pronounce their opinion upon what they *feel* rather than what, if they would examine the matter quietly, they must *think*.

An enterprising Spanish merchant had been spending twenty-five of the best years of his life in the pursuit of his business in America; he had amassed an ample fortune, he had married a beautiful wife, and four daughters and five sons had blessed their union. The time had come when he was to enjoy the fruit of all his toils in his own country, and in the bosom of his family. He had embarked with all his treasure in specie, and (much more dear in his regard) with his wife, his daughters, now blooming in womanhood, and his five sons, on board the 'Mercedes,' for Spain. Just before the action, he had transferred himself with one of his sons to another vessel, leaving "all that were most precious to him" on board the ill-fated Mercedes, which vessel, ten minutes afterwards, was blown in pieces before his eyes, while the whole of his family, and the hard

* Moniteur, 30th October, 1804.

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earnings of twenty-five years of toil, went to the bottom!

Such misery and similar losses, in greater or less degree, in higher or lower ranks of life, are inseparable from war, though their obscurity may find no chronicler; but it cannot be doubted that in this instance the arrival of the bereaved merchant, parent, and husband, after his triple loss, at Plymouth, in the cabin of his captor, seemed to call for strong arguments to justify the infliction of loss and misery on one who had good reason to think he was incurring no such risk.

In addressing to the public such arguments as his intimate knowledge of international law made him most fit to propound, Mr. Ward very wisely pursued the same course as he had formerly done when he wrote upon the rights of neutrals. He collected together all such historical facts as should best illustrate the subject under discussion; he presented repeated instances in which wars had been begun *without* a "declaration," or in which hostilities had been carried on before any such formal notice; he explained, or recalled to recollection, all the details in which such instances might be supposed to differ from, or could be shown to tally with, the late events; and, without once bringing in the propriety or justification of the measure Mr. Pitt had directed, he left the application of the authorities he had cited to those who were to *judge*. His treatise was called "An Inquiry into the Manner in which the different Wars of Europe have commenced during the last Two Cen-

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turies;" and so great was the interest taken by Mr. Pitt in its production, that he has been said, even in a late publication, to have revised the proof-sheets himself. That this is very nearly, though not strictly, true, will appear from the following words written by the author himself upon the first page of his own copy:—"A tract, purporting to be a catalogue of living authors, asserts incorrectly that this little essay was revised by Mr. Pitt before it was published. *It was read to him*, but not revised; a word was not even changed, though the form was. In fact, I had intended it for a professional treatise, and entered all my authorities at the foot of each page. Mr. Pitt asked me to make him a present of the tract, to suit the political, not the legal, world; for which purpose he proposed throwing the authorities, which he said would not be read by those he meant the work for, into an appendix: this was all the change he made."

A similar change, from a legal to a political character, was also made about the same time in the author; for though already approved by the King for an appointment to the otium *sine* dignitate of a Welsh judgeship, before the appointment was finally made out he became Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The circumstances which led to so entire a change in the tenor of his after-life, must now be noticed.

During all the latter part of the Spanish negotiations, the health of the Foreign Secretary Lord Harrowby had been much affected; and, immediately before the meeting of Parliament in 1805, in conse-

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quence of a severe fall he met with, he became quite incapable of attending to business. Under these circumstances, with a discussion on foreign policy impending of the greatest consequence, in which was to be decided the question for Pitt, of credit for successful vigour and foresight, or of an unjustifiable advantage gained by an infringement of the law of nations, Pitt wrote to Lord Mulgrave to propose to him to accept the important office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The advantage to the public of Mr. Ward's services at such a moment immediately struck that nobleman, and, upon his acceptance of the important post thus offered, Lord Mulgrave wrote a letter to Mr. Ward, in which we see the greatest anxiety that he should carefully consider whether it would be most for his real happiness and ultimate advantage to abandon either the great prizes of the law that might hereafter be his, or the certain and honourable competence which the Welsh judgeship already within his grasp would offer, in order to accept that which (should such be his decision) he places within his power. In short, he was to determine whether he would enter on the more dazzling, but less secure, path to eminence which so important a political office as Under-Secretary of State held out, or accept the merely nominal dignity and well-paid inactivity of Judge in a district so virtuous, that a maiden assize with its white gloves, was the rule rather than the exception.

Who does not anticipate that his reply to the following letter was an eager acceptance of a post that

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seemed to place within his fingers wires of which Pitt himself, the great object of his veneration, was to regulate the motion?

Lord Mulgrave to R. Ward, Esq.

Bath, Jan. 1. 1804 (5?).

"Dear Ward,

"I have just received a letter from Mr. Pitt, proposing to me the office of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, which the present state, and I fear the future prospect, of Lord Harrowby's health obliges him finally to relinquish. It is impossible for me to hear yet what Mr. Elliott's intentions may be with respect to the situation of Under-Secretary of State, or what other office may be destined for him; but I lose not a moment in enabling you to turn in your mind *every consideration* connected with the step of quitting your profession for political employment, assuring you that if the latter pursuit should be that on which you determine, I shall then have great pleasure in offering you the post which you once seemed to desire, as soon as it shall be at my disposal. I shall be in town on Thursday morning, and shall probably know something decided about Mr. Elliott's views in a short time.

"Ever yours sincerely,

"MULGRAVE."

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CHAP. VIII.

ADDINGTON AND HIS FRIENDS JOIN THE MINISTRY. — LORD LOWTHER TO MR. WARD. — DEBATE ON COMMENCEMENT OF SPANISH WAR. — MR. PITT'S DECLINING HEALTH AND DEATH. — LETTERS OF LORD LOWTHER THEREON. — REFERENCE TO CORRESPONDENCE THAT PRODUCED THE DISSOLUTION OF THE GREY AND GRENVILLE ADMINISTRATION; AND TO DESPATCHES REFERRED TO THEREIN.

THE new appointments at the Foreign Office formed not the only change in the Cabinet. They were shortly followed by one more productive of numerical strength, indeed, yet calculated to do harm rather than good, by proclaiming, in a manner not to be mistaken, the weakness it was intended to remedy. After all that had passed, it was evident that nothing but absolute necessity could induce the admittance not only of Mr. Addington, but of the least effective members of his section, into important posts in the Cabinet. It is this unsightly buttress *, this combined addition of strength and weakness, that is very judiciously treated in the following letter of one of Mr. Pitt's most decided adherents and admirers, Lord Lowther. His opinion, shared by many at the time, was not merely confirmed by the results, but by the almost universal

* How well is the state of the administration depicted in the words of Dryden! —

"We inhabit a weak city here,
Which buttresses and props *but scarcely bear*."

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judgment of posterity. We have also occasion again to notice the liberality with which Lord Lowther leaves the conduct of *his* member perfectly uncontrolled. Yet was it an occasion upon which his own feelings were evidently much interested in an entirely different direction, and at a moment when an opportunity appeared to have presented itself for acting upon them.

Lord Lowther to R. Ward, Esq.

"Cottesmere, Jan. 4. 1805.

"My dear Sir,

"Many thanks for your two letters. I really had no information earlier than that I received from you, though that day's post brought three lines for me from Lord Camden, saying the reconciliations had taken place, and that Addington was to be in the Cabinet. Nothing I have heard from any quarter has tended in any degree to abate the impression the first notice of this arrangement excited in my mind; on the contrary, the objections to it appear to me to gain additional force the more they are considered. It is a matter of great regret and uneasiness to me, that so many of my personal friends are so deeply involved in this arrangement; I wish I could cast a veil over everything that has passed for the last two years.

"I hardly know how to wish you joy of your appointment, with a flattering prospect of increasing success in your profession. I hope you have well considered the uncertain and precarious continuance

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of an official situation. If it is one which will vacate your seat for Cockermouth, you may make yourself perfectly easy about your return, which shall be managed without giving you any trouble. Whatever may be the line in politics I may feel impelled to adopt, I shall certainly leave my friends to pursue their own inclinations. As things now stand, it becomes in a great measure a matter of feeling, — a vague criterion, you will say, by which to try the soundness and expediency of political wisdom. But do we not submit to this in most of our actions? and did not Pitt's moral, as well as his honourable, feelings urge him to repel Addington's duplicity in May, 1803, and to break up all connexion with him at that time? I will not trouble you any further than to assure you I am at all times, with great truth, ever most faithfully yours,

"LOWTHER.

"P.S.—I shall be very glad to receive your publication. I have not heard from Lord Mulgrave: I am sure the Foreign Office cannot be better filled; I always fixed on Lord Mulgrave for that or Lord Camden's situation."

The two, and perhaps the only two, instances of apparent inconsistency in Mr. Pitt's conduct are, first, the admission of Addington into his government after the circumstances noticed in the foregoing letter; and, secondly, his accepting office upon an understanding that the Catholic question should not

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be brought forward, although the King's exclusion of the Catholics had been the real or ostensible motive for his, so shortly before, breaking up his administration. It would, however, not be difficult to contend, that upon neither of these points was he fairly open to a charge of inconsistency in the true sense of the term. With respect to Addington, the withdrawal of advice and support (when he found *that* advice not acted on, and *that* support misconstrued) was a very different matter from the accepting his assistance and co-operation where Mr. Pitt himself was to direct. Mr. Pitt's conduct on this occasion was perfectly consistent with his general policy, which had ever been to increase the numerical strength and union of his own party, retaining always to himself the supreme and undisputed command. With respect to the Catholic question, too, precisely the same feelings which induced him to resign rather than sacrifice a measure which seemed likely to promote the welfare of Ireland if granted, and to risk its tranquillity if withheld, impelled him to consider still more at this moment the welfare of England. Was not this sure to be endangered by urging upon the King, in his then state of health, a question of which the unsettled mind of his royal master had such a horror. It is difficult for us at this distance of time (though late events on the Continent may in some degree facilitate it) to realise the anxious apprehensions with which the bare possibility of internal convulsion was then regarded.

If we look to the ultimate end and not merely to

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the means; if we act with reference to persons and times, on which much must ever depend, true consistency may very often involve apparent inconsistency. Nor let it be supposed that if such a line of argument were upon this occasion admitted, there would be no such thing as inconsistency at all. Quicquid quæritur, id habet (according to Cicero's just distinction) aut generis ipsius *sine personis temporibusque, aut iis adjunctis* facti controversiam. To measures of state and policy, considerations of times and persons must be always *adjoined;* and so far from there being blame due to a statesman for acting on considerations of "expediency," such is, and must ever be, the true test of merit.

With Mr. Pitt there was no such change of opinion upon the abstract question of Catholic relief as should show he had before erred in judgment; nor was there any such abandonment of what at the moment appeared expedient as could involve dereliction of principle. He continued to the time of his death to entertain the same views as to Ireland; but was deterred, as any prudent man might at such a moment reasonably be deterred, from incurring, for the sake of a positive good to Ireland, a greater amount of positive evil to the whole United Kingdom.

After this digression, which the strong terms of Lord Lowther's letter seemed naturally to suggest, we may accompany Mr. Ward in his new official character.

During the session after he was appointed to his distinguished office, Mr. Ward performed in Parlia-

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ment the part of a prudent Under-Secretary by seldom, if ever, taking part in debate upon subjects unconnected with his department.

The discussion upon the commencement of the Spanish war, and the taking and destruction of the Spanish treasure-ships, was very early entered upon in both Houses. On the 11th of February, Lord Mulgrave, at great length and with much success, vindicated the acts of his predecessor and of the Cabinet of which he had himself formed a part. In a debate which lasted till four in the morning, and in which Lords Spencer and Grenville took part, the whole question was discussed with great power and eagerness on both sides. Upon a division, however, the Ministry possessed a majority of seventy-eight; the numbers being 36 against 114. Upon the same evening the debate took place in the House of Commons; in which, not only was Mr. Pitt supported by the learning of Sir John Nicholl, who embodied in his speech most of the precedents referred to in Mr. Ward's pamphlet, but also by the more independent and very powerful advocacy of the Master of the Rolls. Sir William Grant, who could hardly be supposed to deliver his opinion otherwise than as a judge, and who was of the highest authority upon such a point, concluded in the following remarkable manner: — "Laying his hand on his heart, he thought the Government and the country justified in the steps that had been taken; that there was no breach of faith, no violation of the law of nations, but that the honour and character of the nation had been preserved and

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maintained throughout." On the division, 313 voted with Ministers, and 106 only against them. In a debate in which so many were anxious to take part, each necessarily occupying a considerable time, from the minute details required for a question involving the whole history of the negotiations, Mr. Ward did not address the House. An adjournment of the debate had been required; an event in those days so rare, that the Speaker had next day to explain that the person in possession of the House at the time of the adjournment had the right of commencing,—a point so well understood now, that many a debate is adjourned with the sole object of delivering, to a refreshed audience, at the spare hour before dinner, a speech elaborated into fervour by patient consumption of the midnight oil, and frequent rehearsals before a mid-day sun. Even on the second day, the debate did not close till six in the morning.

It is hardly necessary to remark, that the remainder of the session of 1805 embraced subjects of the highest interest; but Mr. Ward was either too much hampered by the necessities of official discretion, or too closely occupied with the accumulation of official business, to take an active part on a question so foreign from his immediate duties as the impeachment of Lord Melville. His department furnished quite enough to occupy his time and attention in Bonaparte's overture for peace at the commencement of the year, and in the terms and consequences of the great alliance of England with the other Continental Powers, with Russia first, and afterwards with Austria and Sweden.

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Mr. Pitt's friends now begin to see with alarm the effect produced on his shattered health, not only by the measures adopted against Lord Melville, but by the unsuccessful results to Austria of her contest with France; as well as how deeply he felt that sorrow with which the death of Nelson darkened the bright glories of Trafalgar's triumphs. The interest which Mr. Pitt took personally in the foreign, more than any other department of his administration, brought Mr. Ward at Lord Mulgrave's table very frequently into the society of the great minister whose eventful career was now drawing so rapidly to a close. Those hours of social intimacy raised in Mr. Pitt's mind feelings of friendly interest towards Mr. Ward, for which a previous knowledge of his substantial merits furnished an apt foundation. Even in his latest years, the recollection of this period enabled Mr. Ward to contribute details of Mr. Pitt's manners and conversation which were sufficient to furnish a much more complete and correct picture of his social virtues, his kindness of heart, his ready wit, and extraordinary powers of memory, than have been handed down to us in any of the somewhat meagre notices of his private life. I cannot too much regret that Mr. Ward had not, at that early period, commenced that habit of daily putting to paper the impression of the moment, which afterwards enabled him to leave behind so many interesting records of by-gone days.

So deep a personal feeling of sorrow had Pitt for the loss the country had sustained in Nelson's death,

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that having suggested to Lord Mulgrave the composition of that ode on his death which commences — "On bold Trafalgar's cape,"* and which was afterwards set to music by Dr. Arne, he composed himself, at a moment when his days were fast drawing to a

* In order to give an opportunity of judging of Mr. Pitt's additions, acquiring, as they do, adventitious interest from being made so shortly before his death, I subjoin the ode entire. The verses after the seventh were added at his suggestion; the *last* was entirely his own: —

ODE ON THE DEATH OF NELSON.

(*Set to music by Dr. Arne.*)

"On bold Trafalgar's cape, exulting Fame
Proclaim'd the dawn of that eventful day,
When, chased o'er half the globe by Nelson's name,
The French and Spanish squadrons stood at bay.

To check the hero's course in glory's way,
Superior numbers waked the rash desire;
The double crescent, form'd in dread array,
Pour'd on the English fleet concentred fire.

In awful silence through the sever'd lines,
With wrath reserv'd, the British columns pass'd,
Then, like th' explosion of volcanic mines,
On the crush'd foe their blazing vengeance cast.

High on the Vict'ry's deck great Nelson stood,
The calm director of tumultuous war;
He seem'd the ruling genius of the flood,
And Britain's bulwark his triumphant car.

The proud memorial of his deeds foregone,
A grateful badge from each protected state,
Spread o'er his valiant heart, conspicuous shone,
The meed of glory — but the mark for fate!

A deathful aim th' emblazon'd trophies drew —
'The Almighty's will,' he cries, 'ordain'd the wound!
Bear to brave Collingwood my last adieu;
I die content, tho' far from England's ground.'

The parting spirit, hovering o'er the fight,
To vict'ry's charge consign'd his orphan fleet;
The pious patriot's soul then wing'd its flight,
Heroes and saints, congenial souls, to meet.

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close, the additional verse, referring to Collingwood's humanity in saving his sinking enemies, with which the ode closes.

His days on earth were, however, fast drawing to a close. Even before this, his general incapacity to attend to much business, and the fatal effect they saw produced on his declining strength by such exertions as he imposed on himself, had determined his colleagues, and those who were most nearly connected with him by private friendship, to propose such a transfer of power into the hands of their opponents as should release them from the embarrassment of such a position, and afford the best chance of saving

Old Ocean sees his fav'rite son expire,
And on the troubled bosom of the main,
Tempest, more fierce than war's destructive fire,
Howls o'er the remnant of the vanquish'd train.

Th' ill-fated captures, from their anchors torn,
Yield to the fury of the angry skies,
Whilst on the rising waves, triumphant borne,
Th' avenging blast the victor fleet defies.

In Britons' hearts, with victory's pride elate,
The voice of pity checks the hostile blow;
Courage and skill arrest the course of fate,
Confronting death to save a ruin'd foe.

With Nelson join'd, and sacred to renown,
Time shall record the second of that day,
Who, to the glory of his sovereign's crown,
Secured the lustre of its brightest ray."

It is worthy of remark, that the suggestions of that great minister, from whom all earthly things were so soon to fade away, referred, not to the victory that had reflected such glory on his government, but to the Christian efforts of humanity displayed by the common sailors to the drowning enemy; and that his own verse was intended to ascribe to "the second of that day," the great Collingwood, a glory not excelled by any of his later triumphs, — the showing forth that mercy which (to use Pitt's own words) secured to the British crown "the lustre of its brightest ray."

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a life so valuable to his country. The following letters from Lord Lonsdale to Mr. Ward will best show the state of things very shortly before Mr. Pitt's death, and the arrangements contemplated if his rapidly approaching dissolution had not suggested their postponement not only as a measure of delicacy, but as a course which must be, inevitably, of only temporary consequence.

Lord Lowther to R. Ward, Esq.

"Cottesmere, Jan. 10. 1806.

"My dear Sir,

"It is difficult to conceive a situation of greater anxiety and embarrassment than that in which the Government is now placed. Mr. Pitt's illness and incapacity for business is a greater misfortune than the fatal overthrow of the great Austrian empire to this country: at least it may be so. This calamity, however, is no more than many persons foresaw and dreaded; and if there was any argument to justify a junction of parties, it rested more on this consideration than any other. The great weight of business has long been sustained by Pitt, and the task of defending every thing in the House of Commons rested solely with him. Under this accumulated pressure, a much stronger frame might have shrunk. What you say in respect to Continental matters, is as consolatory as anything can be under the present deplorable situation of affairs. But, Austria out of the question, what hope is there of effecting anything

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against France or her dependencies? I am always very glad to receive any communication from you, and most sincerely condole with you on the present unpromising appearances. I have heard so little of politics lately, and knowing nothing of what is going on, I am afraid my presence would not relieve you from any of the difficulties which seem to be crowding upon you. If you wish a full attendance at the meeting, of which I have no intimation, let me know, that I may write to my brother, and to any others I may be able to influence. Pray let me hear from you soon, and believe me ever most sincerely yours,

"LOWTHER."

Lord Lowther to R. Ward, Esq.

"Cottesmere, Jan. 16. 1806.

"My dear Sir,

"It is perfectly true, I had not the slightest apprehension of the very alarming state of Mr. Pitt's health, as you describe it. His total incapacity for business, at this time, must be almost fatal to the existence of the Government; and the faint probability there seems of his being able to return to it, even if his life should be spared, imposes a heavy duty on his colleagues. Now come the dangers and the difficulties which many foresaw, and deprecated the premiership that gave rise to them. Whatever could tend most effectually towards the restoration of his health, should be most earnestly pressed upon him; and I think he cannot want persons to urge most strenuously any plan which

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is likely to have that effect. It was not my intention to be in London on the first day of the session, and I am not encouraged to depart from that determination in consequence of what you say, because I think, in decency and propriety, no strong question against the Government can be urged on the instant; but if matters are to be carried to an extremity, some fair notice will be given. Deeply as Mr. Pitt's retirement from office must be regretted, I agree with you that the preservation of his health is the first object, and his life is of ten thousand times more importance and value to the country than any other consideration, even in these times, extraordinary and embarrassing as they are.

"I hope you will keep your promise and let me hear from you, though I cannot request this without some compunction when I consider the weighty and numerous claims on your time and attention.

"Believe me, my dear Sir,

"Ever most faithfully yours,

"LOWTHER."

A few days after the date of the last letter, Mr. Pitt had ceased to exist. The friendly interest he had taken in the subject of these memoirs was shown, as might be said, even in his last moments. At the time Mr. Ward accepted the post of Under-Secretary of State (resigning that of Welsh judge), it had been promised him that the apparent risk of such a step to the future prospects of his family should be guarded against by the grant of a pension, to commence when

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he should cease to hold office. He had been but a year in the post thus accepted, and, amid the pressure of other matters, the contemplated arrangement had never been completed. More than once in his last illness did Pitt allude to his unfulfilled promise, and speak with kindness of him to whom it had been made. Later on, when he could no longer continuously articulate, he made the name "Robert Ward" audible, and added signs for paper and ink. His trembling hand having feebly traced a number of wandering characters, and added what could be easily recognised as his well-known signature, he sank back. The precious paper (precious, whatever may have been its unknown import, as a proof of remembrance at so solemn a moment!) was afterwards handed over by the physician in attendance, Sir Walter Farquhar, to Mr. Ward; and many a time did he declare, as he displayed it to me, that he would give any thing he valued most in the world to be able to decipher its unformed characters.

Amid all the regrets of attached friends, who might be literally said to revere his memory*, I cannot omit a very touching letter, addressed by Lord Lowther to Mr. Ward, confirming, as it did, all that has just been detailed of the interest felt by the departed minister in the subject of these Memoirs.

* A curious instance of the sort of feeling entertained for him in Europe is furnished by the fact, that when Mr. Pitt was known to be at the point of death, the illustrious Count Woronzow called on Lord Mulgrave, and, while overwhelmed by grief, lamented aloud, that "at sixty-two years of age he could not be allowed to give up the remains of a useless life, to spare that of Pitt at forty-seven." In the same illustrious individual's letter to Lord Mulgrave, after Pitt's death, the words were bliterated by his tears.

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Lord Lowther to R. Ward, Esq.

" Cottesmere, Jan. 25. 1806.

" I torture myself, and I fear I do not spare you, by taking this opportunity of expressing to you how much, beyond all possibility of description, I feel the load of wretchedness, which the loss of our dear and most valuable friend has imposed upon me; and I am now surprised I could hear even of the least idea of danger attending his long and fatal malady, without anticipating one-half of the affliction which this dreadful calamity has precipitated upon me. There is this aggravation too in the misfortune, for me at least, who am in solitude and at a distance, that after private feeling has had its vent, and has a little subsided, all consideration for the public will rise up to distract, perplex, and confound one in the choice of difficulties which will be experienced. My grief is too poignant to allow me to pursue this subject, and therefore I shall only add what it was my only design to do when I sat down to write to you, that it is a consolation to me to assure you that if I had no other reason for cultivating your friendship than that the grounds of it were first laid by that person for whose memory I shall ever retain the utmost veneration and affection, I should hope (as I also do on every other account) that that connection will not lose any of its attraction, or abate in the regard and esteem on which it was originally founded. For my own part, I beg you to believe that I can do nothing more

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grateful to my own feelings, or more consonant to the respect and affection I feel for the memory of my departed friend, than to continue any mark of attention to those for whose welfare I know he was interested, and who held no inconsiderable place in his esteem. Excuse me if I do not add more, for it is really no fiction when I say I am almost incapable of doing it.

"Believe me ever very faithfully yours,

"LOWTHER."

The advent of Mr. Fox to power gave rise to many rumours of an impending dissolution, during all of which Mr. Ward received continual assurances from Lord Lonsdale that he need have no fears about his seat.

He had betaken himself to a country seat and rural pursuits, and for a time rest was by no means unwelcome after the exertions of so laborious an office as that he had held. "I suppose this will find you," says Lord Lonsdale, "immersed in agricultural reports instead of foreign gazettes, and that you are employed in gathering in your harvests instead of writing despatches."

The above sentences convey so correct a picture of Mr. Ward's life, that it is unnecessary to include here comments upon political events in which he took no part. He no longer held official employment, and it had been agreed among his party that they would not offer any unnecessary opposition to the Fox ministry during the continuance of the life of that great Whig leader. The following letter to Mr. Ward from

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one who was accustomed to have much influence on such decisions, will convey the feelings of the old Tory party after the death of Mr. Pitt's great rival.

Lord Lowther to R. Ward, Esq.

"Lowther, Sep. 25. 1806.

"My dear Sir,

"The little I have heard on the subject of politics is so very vague and uncertain, that I cannot give it to you, trifling as it is, with any sort of reliance on its probability; and as you seem to think that all intelligence is to arrive from the north, I can but convince you of the dearth of it, by telling you that Lord Westmoreland arrived from Scotland yesterday, as ignorant and uninformed as ourselves. I have heard, however, that Lord Grenville has expressed a wish on the same grounds, as I believe you know, he tried before, to negotiate with individuals, which has been of course rejected. Lord Howick, it is said, is to succeed Fox, and of course, I presume, to manage the House of Commons. Tierney it is said is to have the Board of Control, and Grenville either the Admiralty or Home Secretaryship; Lord Holland is talked of for the Privy Seal, and the Dr. for the Presidency, Lord Fitzwilliam being to quit his office, but to retain his seat in the Cabinet. Whether such arrangements be true or not, it matters little if the system of exclusion, so long and so loudly condemned by the Grenvilles, continues to prevail. I think at this moment Fox's death is to be regretted; I am

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inclined to think he would have done his best, not from any principle of right, but with a view to redeem a character which must now pass down to posterity with many a foul stain upon it. To be sure Lord Grenville is without rival in point of talents in the Cabinet. But when you consider all that, we have reason to believe, Pitt had to encounter from his obstinacy, so that even his great and ascendant mind could not always keep things right, what have you to expect from Lord Grenville's sole and uncontrolled authority? Want of capacity is a common charge against every ministry; but I believe this charge was never better founded than in its application, on many points, to the present, during the last session. It is said parliament is to meet the end of next month; meet when it will, I hope now as I have always done, that the Pitt party will keep together, — I am sure they will be formidable, and though the Grenvilles and Foxites form a powerful phalanx, with the Prince's interest to support them, I think the nation at large will not see with satisfaction or with temper, the whole body of that connection excluded, which has so long and so ably served it. In alluding to this, we may presume that the *King* cannot be comfortably situated, and that he must look with some anxiety towards the moment which may be most favourable for the disengaging himself from those who are most devoted to the person who seems on all occasions to make opposition to his father's government his principle of action.

"I am, dear Sir, ever very faithfully yours,

"LOWTHER."

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In accordance with the expectations here hinted at, the removal of the Grenville Cabinet took place (very soon after that death of Mr. Fox which had so altered its complexion), under circumstances which, as they are often afterwards alluded to by Mr. Ward, may be here shortly recapitulated by extracts from the original official correspondence. This correspondence with every minute that bore upon it, Lord Howick in Parliament expressly desired should be made known to the public. It will be seen that on the one hand there was no wish on the part of the ministers to force upon the King any extent of concession to the Catholics which they could conscientiously avoid, while, on the other hand, it is pretty evident that their royal master was determined to take that opportunity of getting rid of them. After the Grenville Cabinet had, in deference to the earnestly expressed wishes of the King, consented to withdraw the measure on Roman Catholic enlistment, which they had already introduced; his Majesty further complained that "although the bill now depending is dropped, they (the ministers) have been unable to make up their minds not to press upon him in future, measures connected with a question which has already proved so distressing to him;" and further adds that, "his mind cannot be at ease *unless he shall receive a positive assurance* from them, which shall effectually relieve him from all future apprehension." Having, in a letter, dated March 17th, 1807, which accompanied the foregoing, required "*with a view to the prevention of all future mistakes*," that "when they shall have

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duly considered the latter part of his Majesty's answer, their determination should be stated on paper," he left but one course open to them, a course which, under similar circumstances would, it is to be hoped, be pursued by every British minister of whatever party. After reminding him of the perfect liberty of action which they considered themselves to have had on taking office, with the addition that, "if any such assurance had been *then* demanded, they must have expressed, with all humility and duty, the absolute impossibility of their then resigning the free exercise of their judgments; they declare that their concessions had already gone to the utmost possible extent of their public duty," but that it would be "deeply criminal in them, with the general opinions which they entertain on the subject, to bind themselves to withhold from your Majesty, under all the various circumstances that may arise, those councils which may eventually appear to them indispensably necessary."

Thus abruptly closed this short-lived Whig ministry in the assertion of this great constitutional principle, that though no ministry can force on their royal master measures to which he is conscientiously opposed, so, on the other hand, none can continue their tenure of office upon an avowed abandonment of their own combined opinion of what is expedient to the individual wishes of the monarch.

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CHAP. IX.

FORMATION OF PORTLAND ADMINISTRATION. — LORD MULGRAVE, FIRST LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY, OFFERS MR. WARD A SEAT AT THE BOARD. — IMPORTANCE OF THE NAVAL EXPEDITIONS AT THIS PERIOD. — LETTERS FROM AND TO LORD COLLINGWOOD. — FROM AND TO MR. PERCEVAL LORDS MULGRAVE AND LONSDALE — DISSENSIONS IN THE CABINET. — LETTERS THEREON. — MR. WARD'S DIARY. — ITS CHARACTER.

THE result of the negotiations consequent upon the above correspondence, was the formation of that Ministry which, at first under the name of the Portland, and afterwards under that of the Perceval, administrations, passed through stranger events, underwent ruder shocks, than any other of modern times, and yet maintained its ground till its sudden dissolution by the melancholy assassination of its leading member.

It is curious that the character and conduct of one who managed to hold his ground against a very formidable array of talent in opposition, without resort to corruption, of which his character was incapable, and with no elevated band of aristocratic family adherents, should be so little before the world. It will be seen later, that I am in a position to supply this deficiency, by means of a curious Diary of political events, which about this time was commenced, and day by day continued, by the subject of these Memoirs.

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I must first, however, explain the position Mr. Ward held in the Duke of Portland's Administration.

Lord Mulgrave was at once invited by that nobleman to accept the situation of First Lord of the Admiralty,—a post then of the highest importance, as the principal operations in the war against the common enemy were to be carried on through our naval forces. "It is in your power," writes Lord Melville, in congratulating Lord Mulgrave on his appointment, "it is in your power within, I believe, less time than twelve months, to do more good to your country than, perhaps, any other individual in it."

Mr. Canning being appointed to the Foreign Department, a very active and confidential correspondence was carried on between them, which the mutual connection of their important offices, and a congeniality of views, naturally induced. It was in those days usual for the First Lord to have the choice of those who, whether as civil or naval lords, should compose the Board. Well knowing his capabilities for the public service, one of the earliest to whom Lord Mulgrave offered a seat at the Board was Mr. Ward. He had further the credit of being the first to introduce into office, and into the very department in which he earned so high a reputation, Mr. Croker. Nor should it be forgotten that it was at the same period, and by the same nobleman, the brilliant talents of Lord Palmerston were secured to his country. In a letter of this period, written with all the modesty that generally accompanies true talent, the young Lord Palmerston expresses the satisfaction

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he feels in accepting the office tendered to him unsolicited, and his anxiety to justify the good opinion which such a step must indicate.

It was during this period that some of the most important naval expeditions in our history occupied that Board to which Mr. Ward was now attached. The seizure of the Danish fleet, so much attacked by party politicians at the time, and so fully justified by information since furnished, but which the Ministers of the day were too honourable to betray; the Scheldt expedition; and the operations carried on by Lord Collingwood in the Mediterranean; — all these by turns engaged the attention of the Admiralty Board. An interesting selection might be furnished of correspondence addressed to it at that time. From time to time would be displayed the ever-active mind of Canning, who then presided over the Foreign Department, anticipating difficulties, providing against contingencies, or suggesting expeditions; now beseeching for a delay in the deportation of some dangerous foreign agent; now arranging for the scattering on the coast of France some ingeniously conceived state paper. Anon might follow grumbling or contented communications from the great commanders of the day; reports from the now so celebrated, but then obscure, Congreve of the success of his newly invented rockets; or secret communications from treacherous citizens of every part of the world with which we were then in hostility. All this, however, would lead me too far from the immediate subject of these Memoirs.

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Yet can I not resist subjoining two or three of the still unpublished letters of the great Collingwood, whose Correspondence, not only from the greatness of his deeds done, but from the noble grandeur of his private character displayed therein, was perused with so much delight by the public. The first given bears interesting reference to that purchase and transport of the Elgin marbles which will confer a more enduring benefit on the mental wealth of this country than any of its greatest war triumphs. The others give a most interesting picture of the state of the Spanish nation at the period referred to.

Lord Collingwood to Lord Mulgrave.

"Ocean, off Minorca, April 15. 1808.

"My Lord,

"I received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 28th February, enclosing one from Lord Elgin. Whatever may be in my power to comply with his Lordship's request, and give protection to any persons employed in removing the articles from Athens, I will most gladly do; but in the present circumstances of that country, I do not think any communication of that kind could be had with it; and your Lordship is aware that, with all the duties for which the ships are wanted at this moment, that the French are moving at sea, all the ships will be fully occupied.

"The difficulty in discovering where the French squadron are, has given me much uneasiness. I had

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assured myself they were coming, and that we should find them near Minorca. The Spaniards are waiting in the expectation of being joined by them. I have now a suspicion that the Spanish ships are not to be employed at Sicily, but to act only as lures, to draw our force from that island. If they do join, we have a force which I hope will be found quite equal to the service. The want of frigates has been very great: those lately arrived are a great aid. The Adriatic and Corfu will always require a strict guard by them: it is from that quarter I suspect the troops will come against Sicily; and if the French squadron had any business at Corfu lately, it was probably that of concerting the plan of their operations. The Minister of the Italian Marine was captured in the Friedland brig, in his way to Corfu, which prevented his aid at their council.

"I have the honour to be,
"My Lord,
"Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,
"COLLINGWOOD."

Lord Collingwood to Lord Mulgrave.

"Ocean, off Cadiz, Aug. 2. 1808.

"My Lord,

"I received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 12th last with very great satisfaction; for, always desirous to obtain the approbation of your Lordship, I cannot but be gratified by every testimony of it.

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"The subject which your Lordship presses, is one which very fully possessed my mind from the first moment the Spaniards took arms. I have considered, that to maintain the independence of Spain was to advance the interests of both countries; and that the assistance she required was not to be given with a parsimonious hand, and doled out in scraps, but it was to be the munificence of one great nation supplying to another what was necessary to rescue her from bondage.

"This was my first view of the subject. I could entertain no other when England offered her aid.

"The proposal to garrison Cadiz, and reinforce that of Ceuta by British troops was not well received: their language has ever been, 'We do not want men; the country abounds in them, devoted to its service, but they are without arms, and we are without money to maintain them: it is to the liberality and friendship of England we look to, to supply those wants.' I do not believe there is a point in Spain at which they wish an English soldier to land. When General Spencer landed at Port St. Mary, with a view to take Port el Lares, they made difficulty in finding horses to draw their few little cannon with them,—a distance of only six or seven miles. They therefore remained at Port St. Mary, and were ready to embark on the receipt of Lord Castlereagh's orders to join Sir Arthur Wellesley.

"One of the great wants of the Spaniards is horses and mules. I endeavoured to obtain them from Barbary, I am afraid with little prospect of success; for

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the Emperor, regardless of every thing but his interest, requires Ceuta to be given in exchange for them.

"The surrender of the French army under Dupont, on the 20th instant, near Anduxen, was the cause of great joy; but the conditions of their surrender — which was to be carried to Rochfort — is found to be very embarrassing; both because it is impossible to find vessels to convey so large a body as 16,000 men, and the general interest of the cause requires that they should not go to a point from whence they can act against Spain with more effect than they can here. I have also informed the Spaniards that I cannot allow so great a body of armed men to pass the sea, until I have received instructions from His Majesty's Ministers; and this declaration, I am told, is very acceptable to them, because it gives them a plea for delaying what, they know, the people will not allow to be done.* By the Convention they appear to me to have departed from the principle on which a war like this should be carried on, — in which nothing short of unconditional submission should be admitted. By doing it, they have lost the great advantage of their superiority; for the Spanish army, instead of proceeding to Madrid, or other service, must stay here to take care of their prisoners.

"A Council of all the General Officers is assembled at Seville. I have no knowledge of the subject of their deliberation; but conclude, it either relates to

* It will be remembered that this Convention was afterwards not carried out, and that apprehension of impediments from the English fleet was one of the reasons alleged.

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the French prisoners, or the future service of the army.

"Your Lordship may depend on it, I will lose no time in sending ships home, as directed in the Admiralty orders to me. The Thunderer, I hope, is on her way, with the convoy from Malta. The Zealous will come through the Straits with the first easterly wind, with the convoy from Gibraltar. I have sent orders for Sir Richard Strachan, with the Cæsar at Malta, to come down immediately, and the rest as the service will admit; and your Lordship may depend on it no time shall be lost in reducing the squadron to the number their Lordships have directed: but in a station so wide extended, it cannot be done in the instant. Before I came down the Mediterranean I had ordered the bombs and rocket-ship to be ready, that if the French squadron continued in port, an attempt might be made to burn the numerous vessels which are in the harbour of Marseilles. If it can be accomplished, it will prevent any great number of troops being sent by sea to Spain or Sicily; and if the squadron comes out of Toulon, to prevent its execution, they will be met by ours. I left the instructions with Vice-Admiral Thornbrough, who, I am sure, if there is a favourable opportunity, will execute it well.

"Things are new here yet, and far from being settled. The state of Spain is yet but little known even to themselves. I believe the only firm power in the kingdom to be in the people, who, directed by the priests, are exceedingly watchful of the proceed-

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ings of their executive government. Whenever affairs are composed, and the prospect fair, I propose to proceed up the Mediterranean again, and join the fleet. The latter end of June, on a supposition that the transactions in Spain might encourage the Italian States, I wrote to Sir John Stuart and Admiral Thornbrough on the subject of Naples. This may have divided the ships, and make the collecting those to return to England of longer time. The Repulse is not one of those ordered; but from the complaints of weakness she made last winter I believe it will be proper she went home before the winter season. I brought her down with me with this view.

"I have been informed that Captain Morris is in so ill a state of health, and his complaint of such a nature, that he can have no relief in this country. I have desired Admiral Thornbrough to allow an exchange, if such can be: and Lord Henry Paulet is also afflicted with a complaint that requires his being on shore to cure. I am much obliged to your Lordship for your kind inquiries for my health. I have had the happiness of a good constitution, which, however, is a good deal worn. I have hoped it would last me through the war; but if the prospect of peace does not open soon, I shall ask the indulgence of their Lordships to allow me to come to England.

"I have the honour to be,
"My Lord,
"With the highest respect,
"Your Lordship's most obedient
"and most humble servant,
"COLLINGWOOD."

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*Lord Mulgrave to Lord Collingwood.**

"Admiralty, Sep. 6. 1808.

"My Lord,

"Your letter of the 2nd of August (which has been long on its way) serves to confirm all the opinions which are entertained here respecting the affairs of Spain. The capitulation conceded to Dupont's army, if it could have been immediately carried into effect, would have facilitated the obvious object of Bonaparte, and have enabled him to add that corps to the army which he will have to collect in the north of Spain, for the purpose of acting with one great and united force from a single point, covered on both flanks by fortresses, and connected with all his channels of supply from France. This plan of operations Bonaparte is exerting himself to carry into effect. The union of all the provinces of Spain under one central and supreme government, and the united effort of the whole country to clear Spain of the French force now collected, can alone prevent a long and arduous struggle; and it is most lamentable that with such great, evident, and pressing general interests calling for union and despatch, the Juntas of the several provinces should be more occupied with little views of mutual jealousy and local vanity, than with the common interest of national salvation. The importance of establishing a supreme

* A small portion only of this letter is already published; but I give it entire, as it completes the reference to this interesting period in the Spanish campaign.

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government, of whatever description, has been strongly pressed upon the deputies of the several provinces who are assembled at London; and they are distinctly informed that further succours and supplies from hence can only be afforded on the application, and at the disposal, of such government, speaking on behalf of the Spanish monarchy at large. Upon hearing of the nature of the capitulation with Dupont, I thought it expedient to suspend (to such extent as you should judge necessary) the recall of ships from the fleet under your command, as well on account of the necessity of having a naval force sufficient to support the principle which you had so justly stated, of the impossibility of suffering so large an armed French force to pass the sea, as to prevent any part of that force going in ships of war; which (upon the experience of the former conduct of the French government) might be detained and equipped to act against this country. It is also necessary, as long as any probability shall exist of the embarkation of Dupont's army, that you should have the means of supplying a convoy sufficient to ensure their being transported to the port to which they shall be respectively destined at the period of the departure of each division. Upon these considerations a discretion has been left to you, with respect to the proportion of ships which you will send home. The consideration of the exigencies of the service, and the object of economy in the relief and repair of such ships as may require to be sent home with that view, cannot be better provided for than by the discretionary instruc-

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tions which the change of circumstances has induced this Board to send to you.

"I trust the brilliant success achieved in Portugal, on the 17th and 21st of August, will tend materially to the early deliverance of Spain, as well as to the perfect security of Portugal, by the final reduction of Junot and of the Russian fleet in the Tagus. We are in hourly and impatient expectation of those events.

I read with great uneasiness and regret the concluding part of your letter, in which you express some doubts of the continuance of your health to the end of the war; and I earnestly hope that the service of the country will not suffer the serious inconvenience of your finding it necessary to suspend the exertion of your zeal and talents. It is a justice which I owe to you and to the country, to tell you candidly, that I know not how I should be able to supply all that would be lost to the service of the country, and to the general interests of Europe, by your absence from the Mediterranean. I trust you will not find the necessity—and, without it, the whole tenor of your conduct is a security that you will not feel the inclination—to quit your command whilst the interests of your country can be essentially promoted by your continuing to hold it.

"I have the honour to be, with the highest esteem and consideration,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient,

"faithful servant,

"MULGRAVE."

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Lord Collingwood to Lord Mulgrave.

"Ocean, Malta, Jan. 23.

"My Lord,

"I informed the Admiralty Board in December that a fair opportunity having presented itself to introduce the subject, I had proposed to the Dey of Algiers that peace should be restored between him and Sicily. To-day I have received his answer, and from Mr. Consul Blanckley an account of what passed on the occasion. After consulting his Divan, he replied that he was perfectly willing to make peace with Sicily, but the conditions of it were the payment of sums of money which it is impossible Sicily can produce; he demanded a million and a half of dollars, an annual tribute equal to that America pays, and the exchange of prisoners. After Mr. Blanckley stating the impoverished condition of Sicily by the misfortunes which the war had caused, and the impossibility of their raising any money, he said, the Regency and his subjects looked to him to obtain a pecuniary gratification, and he did not feel that he had a power to conclude a peace without it. He would do what he could, and would lower his terms to one million of dollars, and half the tribute that America pays; paying also one thousand dollars for every Sicilian who could not be exchanged. I shall pursue this subject as I have opportunity; if it can be accomplished it will be happy for Sicily.

"I have just received from Admiral Thornbrough a letter from Duns, the Minister of Marine to Bona-

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parte, by which your Lordship will be informed of the measures proposed to man the fleet at Toulon. I have sent the copy of the letter to the Secretary of the Admiralty.

"Several ships of the squadron require repair in dock; this ship cannot be made firm without. The knee of the head in the Spartiate, and other defects, make her unfit to go to sea until the winter is past. The Renown has started a hooding end in her bow, and is obliged to entirely clear her hold at Port Mahon.

"I have the honour to be, with the highest respect,
"Your Lordship's most obedient
"And most humble servant,
"COLLINGWOOD."

Lord Collingwood to Lord Mulgrave.

"Ocean, Port Mahon, March 19. 1809.

"My Lord,

"I am very sorry to inform your Lordship that the Proserpine has been captured by the enemy—the report which I have sent to the Admiral, will inform your Lordship what has come to my knowledge on the subject. She was employed on the look out off Toulon, and was so excellent a sailer that there was little probability of any accident happening to her—I conclude she must have been surprised in the night.

"I must mention to your Lordship that the Hy-

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perion is really not a ship to go on service; her Captain appears to be a gentleman so totally uninformed in every thing that relates to his profession — she is always irregular — and no hope of her being otherwise until she is under better direction — entirely from the want of knowledge in her Captain. The Grasshopper is worse, every time she goes to sea some calamitous thing happens to her — in bringing a despatch to Malta she lost her foremast and bowsprit with a fair wind — carrying down the answer. I see by the return from Gibraltar that she has two new topmasts. This, and a very rigorous treatment of the men, against whom there was no complaint formerly, cause them to desert. Ships under such direction increase the numbers but not the effective force; the times require the exercise of some skill, and these gentlemen do not appear to possess it.

"I hope in the ships which your Lordship may send to this station there may be good three deckers; the enemy have three large strong ones. The Formidable is not a bad ship, but wants a great deal of making up — her ship's company very short — and those who cannot provide for themselves without a dockyard are always in distress. I had occasion to mention in a former letter which I had the honour to write to your Lordship the constant pressure amongst the Lieutenants to get appointments on shore, every sort of expedient is practised to get liberated from their duty in the ships; some ingenuously state their real object, others that important business re-

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quires their presence in England; but most of them from some disease, of which they recover before they reach England, get invalided. This practice I oppose as much as is in my power; but the half-pay being so nearly equal to the full, makes it very difficult to suppress entirely. If your Lordship would make a regulation that no officer should be eligible to the sea-fencibles who had not been twelve years a Lieutenant, and nine of them serving at sea; it would probably reconcile them more to the ships—they would have an interest then in staying by them.

"Of the affairs in Spain you are doubtless more informed than I am. Everything in Catalonia is bad. General Reding at Tarragona made an effort to dislodge the French in that neighbourhood; his numbers were very superior to the enemy, but he failed, and was driven back. Saragossa surrendered on the 21st last. I hear of no success from any quarter. Whenever the French are more established in Catalonia, the Spaniards have no means of defence in those islands. Even the Governor of Minona is a Frenchman, and known by the islanders to be in their interest. Of Sicily I have spoken to you Lordship before; the prospect is not bright there, but of the state of that island his Majesty's ministers will be informed by the ambassador.

"I have the honour to be,

"My Lord,

"Your Lordship's most obedient

"and most humble servant,

"COLLINGWOOD."

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"I enclose to your Lordship one of those letters which I very frequently receive of application to get to England; the gentleman who writes it has not been much more than two years a Lieutenant, but wants an establishment at home, with more pay."

Lord Mulgrave to Lord Collingwood.

"Admiralty, March 27. 1810.

"My Lord,

"I have received the honour of your Lordship's letter of the 14th of February, having uniformly estimated the due consideration of your Lordship's health as a paramount object, as well on public as on personal grounds, I did not hesitate, on the receipt of that letter (however I might feel the loss which the public service must sustain by the removal of your great talents and long experience in that difficult and delicate command), to submit without delay to his Majesty, the appointment of a successor to relieve your Lordship in the command of the Mediterranean station. His Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve of the appointment of Admiral Sir Charles Cotton, who will proceed without delay to his destination.

"I shall have great satisfaction in availing myself of the opportunity afforded by the return of your Lordship to England, to express to you in person those sentiments of sincere respect which your Lordship's conduct and character have so universally created,

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and which must be felt in proportion to the means afforded of observing them in their fullest extent, and in the most minute details.

"With a sincere hope that a respite from the anxiety and exertions of command, may soon and perfectly restore your Lordship's health, I have the honour to be, with the highest esteem and consideration,

"My Lord,
"Your most obedient
"and faithful humble servant,
"MULGRAVE."

Three weeks before the date of this last letter, the gallant Collingwood had breathed his last at sea, on his way home,—no less a victim to the service of his country than if he had fallen in action. The letter announcing his being relieved from the command that had been so fatal to his health was returned to the First Lord of the Admiralty unopened.

Having been tempted to produce (a little out of date) letters bearing upon so marked a period in the records of the Admiralty, while Mr. Ward belonged to the Board, I return to notice an incident which had nearly deprived him of his post.

The kind consideration (or as intense party men would term it, the too great indulgence,) shown by Perceval to those holding office, will be exemplified by the mode in which he acted under the circumstances detailed in the following letters; which are

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also interesting as showing the view taken by others, as well as by himself of his position in the Government, immediately before the period when that precise position came into question.

R. Ward, Esq., to the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval.

"House of Commons, June 9. 1809.

"Dear Perceval,

"I trust, and am sure, that you will view this letter as written in all sincerity of attachment which I feel, and ever have felt for your person and character, from the first moment that I had the good fortune to know you. You are of course aware that I did not vote for Mr. Foster's clause*, which was lost this evening. It is absolutely due to you that I confess this was not owing to accident but intention. I came down to the House ignorant of the measure, but with that general resolution which I of course always feel to support the Government to which I am attached. I found, however, that the question was not one upon which (as in general) I could deliver up my opinion to those who, I am most willing to allow, have the fairest right on all occasions to direct it, but that I was called upon to sanction what, in my view of it, I felt conscientiously bound to condemn. To this con-

* Mr. Foster's clause proposed indemnity to the Excise officers in Ireland, who had, by accepting bribes from distillers, defrauded the revenue to the extent of 850,000*l.*; and it had only been defended by Ministers from the known inadequacy of their salaries. The majority *against Ministers* was 6 in a house of 88 members.

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demnation I was the more particularly and feelingly called, because in my official capacity I had not long ago concurred in driving from lucrative employments, the fruit of many years' service (and in some instances I fear their very bread), several persons who had offended in an infinitely less degree than the offenders in question. With these sentiments could I do otherwise than leave the House? I am perfectly certain that though your view of the subject was different from mine, the justice, and honour, which have so long given you all my respect, would not require this from the mere circumstance of my office alone. On the other hand, I am fully aware, that persons holding office have no right to retain them, if their conduct is thought either hostile or even not sufficiently devoted to the Government they profess to support. And though mine is surely not a mere profession, and in or out of place I hope always to be ranked among the most attached of your personal friends, I feel that you have every right in the world to lay down what shall be the extent, and what the strictness of the rule, by which persons in office are fairly expected to support *all* measures, or place their employments at the disposal of Government. I feel, therefore, that I have a step farther to proceed beyond this simple explanation, and if you are disposed to expostulate with me upon it, I am bound to spare you the pain of that expostulation, or of preparing me (as you have a most perfect right to do) to hear that Lord Mulgrave has filled my place with another name. It is hence that I trouble you with this letter, to which,

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believe me, I have been induced by no affectation of being indifferent to a situation, which it would be as foolish as hypocritical in me to say I despised; nor from any hints that many about you have thought they have a right to make, that such ought to be my proceeding. If anything could suppress this determination it would be the fear of being supposed influenced by this affectation of over righteousness (always so ridiculous), or by the dread of such hints. I entreat you therefore to believe that I am fully alive to the sacrifice I am ready to make, and that I am urged to it only from the sense of the duty which I owe to you, not merely as a Minister, but as one who has ever treated me with the most gratifying kindness. As such believe me, with the truest sentiments of attachments,

"Dear Perceval,
"Your obliged and very faithful,
"R. WARD."

Right Hon. Spencer Perceval to R. Ward, Esq.

"Downing Street, June 10. 1809.

"Dear Ward,

"I have received your letter, assure yourself that I have understood it exactly in the sense and spirit in which you are desirous I should believe that it was written. I see no appearance of affecting a sentiment which you do not feel. I see in it nothing but what is honourable to yourself and kind to me, a kindness which I highly value, and not the less because I can

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trace its existence to a time long anterior to our political connexion. With respect to the idea of requesting Lord Mulgrave to supply your place at the Admiralty with another person, because of your vote last night, I beg you will not conceive for a moment that I could think of entertaining it. I have suffered my political friends, in various departments, to hang so loosely round me in the House of Commons, without even a syllable of remonstrance, that to turn round upon a new principle and direct it at such a time, and upon such an occasion, and, in the first instance, without any previous warning upon you, would in my opinion be utterly inconsistent with every feeling, not only of kindness but of common justice to Lord Mulgrave, as well as to myself. If you think that such an idea has been entertained in my mind for a moment, I shall not be satisfied till I have removed so erroneous an impression.

"The experience of this session, however, must have taught, I think, us all that the Government has but little chance of existence through another, if there is not a stronger impression amongst our friends of the necessity of uniform attendance and support.

"I am, dear Ward,

"Yours, most truly,

"S. PERCEVAL."

I now come to the period at which commences that diary by Mr. Ward, large portions of which I propose to subjoin. It commences precisely at the period at which that of Lord Malmesbury's (received by the

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public with so much interest) breaks off. In comparing them together, it will be at once seen that they are of an entirely different character; there is indeed the same minuteness of detail, the same daily record of the impressions and opinions of contemporary politicians, and here the parallel ends. Lord Malmesbury writes as a bystander, Mr. Ward as an actor, in the scenes he narrates. If the one character is likely to present greater impartiality, the other infuses more spirit into the narrative. If it is said that a looker on sees more of the game, it must, on the other hand, be conceded, that an actor knows more of the real motives and temper of those engaged. If we wish to judge fairly of the conduct of those upon whom we are passing judgment, we ought to be able to breathe the same atmosphere that they breathed, to have the same opinions (shall I add prejudices?) as they entertained upon the motives and objects of their adversaries, of the character and talent of their own bodies. Mr. Ward's diary must be received, indeed, as the view taken at the moment, by *a partizan* and not an historian; but still as conveying the true opinions and intentions of those with whom he was associated, penned at the moment of action, with no immediate view of influencing those of others.

The idea of beginning a Diary, appears to have suggested itself to him in consequence of the minute and curious particulars which were placed before him of that tangled web of events that led to the duel between Castlereagh and Canning, and the advent of Perceval to the head of the Government. Some of

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these letters have already been made public, but as there are many in the series that have never been printed, I think it best to present them as they stand. They tell the story of each person implicated in what, at this distance of time, we cannot but still consider an unfortunate combination of circumstances, and each writer is under the full persuasion that he is furnishing a full justification of his conduct. Of the result, posterity, uninfluenced by passion or prejudice, by hatred or attachment, can alone judge; but, that it may do so, fairness to all demands that the fullest particulars should be furnished.

The Diary commences so abruptly, that I shall precede it by some letters from Lord Mulgrave which give a clear and succinct history of the transaction referred to, and accompany it by some others written by Mr. Ward about the same period.

Lord Mulgrave to Lord Wellesley.

"Admiralty, Sep. 19. 1809.

"My dear Wellesley,

"I cannot rest satisfied without addressing a few lines to you upon the uncomfortable state in which the Pitt party finds itself placed by the events which have recently occurred. I will not, however, like Sir Christopher Hatton in the Critic, repeat to you everything that you already know, but will come at once to the point on which the present schism in the Government rests. The issue of the expedition to the Scheldt being fully known, the time had arrived at

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which the preconcerted arrangement of the removal of Lord Castlereagh from the war department, and your appointment to it, should have taken place; certain members of the Cabinet, Perceval and Lord Liverpool, were anxious that the retreat of Lord Castlereagh should be softened to him by some more enlarged arrangement than the mere change of a single office. The Duke of Portland's rapidly declining health (alarmingly manifested by his having been found in a fit in his carriage on its arrival at Bulstrode), seemed to require his immediate retirement from office, or to threaten his removal by the stroke of death at no distant period. Perceval (with the view above stated) intimated to the Duke the advantages which, in his estimation, might result from his retiring at that particular period. (I omit much of detail, which you will hear from other quarters, with respect to Canning having declined to be a party to this proposal, as the Duke had not on his part intimated any intention of resigning his office.) The Duke of Portland, in compliance with the suggestion made to him, having tendered his resignation to the King, and Lord Castlereagh having also in great displeasure withdrawn from office, an opening appeared to exist for an arrangement which might have rendered the Government powerful and permanent, by filling the two offices generally considered as most defective, with very commanding talents under names calculated to gratify the wishes of the country. The removal of the Duke of Portland appeared, however, in a different light to Canning, he considered it as a measure taken

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without his assent, and one which should justify his relinquishing the pledge which he had received in the Closet respecting your appointment, and (omitting again all details) he came to an explanation with Perceval, by which it appeared to be Canning's opinion that the Government could not be carried on to advantage unless the minister (being First Lord of the Treasury) should be in the House of Commons, adding (the evident conclusion from the premises), that such minister must either be himself or Perceval; that he could not act under Perceval, neither could he admit, on any consideration, that he should himself take the lead of Perceval; but nothing therefore remained but his resignation of the Seals, or that Perceval should remove to the House of Lords. This latter arrangement was, on various grounds (on family considerations if on no other), impossible; and Perceval strongly urged that some third person, being a peer, should be nominated as First Lord of the Treasury, and that they should both continue in their actual situations in the House of Lords.

"Perceval could have objected to *no person* whose rank, character, or talents should point him out as a proper head of the Government, but Canning insisted on the alternative between Perceval and himself, would hear of no third person, and has resigned the Seals; this resignation has been followed by that of Huskisson, of Sturges Bourne, and of Long, these have rendered it impracticable to form a Government out of our own strength, as had been at first in contemplation, and in which case the Seals of the Foreign

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Office would have been offered to you, and could have been kept open for your answer; but, thus broken and divided, it becomes necessary to seek for an external acquisition of strength, and that strength can alone be effectually found by a junction with Lord Grey and Lord Grenville. No time can be lost in opening negotiation with them, especially not so great a length of time as it would require to receive an answer from you; and, as we do not know the extent of your engagements to Canning, it is impossible to stipulate anything on your part, without knowing whether such stipulation would meet with your sanction. I trust I need not say how gratifying it would be to me to act with you in Government, at least I need not say it to Pole, who knows what my feelings and opinions have been, with respect to the great advantage which might have been procured to the country by your filling the very office which was destined for you. Although I certainly was not in the secret of what was intended, but, on the contrary, thought that the great field for the exertion of your talents in Spain, had been to you a preferable object; I now earnestly regret that you have been carried by that object to so great a distance, that it is impossible to ascertain your views and opinions in time either to profit by them, or to act upon them.

"Believe me, dear Wellesley,

"Ever yours most truly,

"MULGRAVE."

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Lord Mulgrave to Lord Lonsdale.

"Admiralty, Sep. 11. 1809.

"My dear Lord,

"I should have written to you on Friday, when I was suddenly informed by the Duke of Portland of his having given in his resignation, if that event had not been followed by so many other circumstances of a similar nature, that I hardly knew what to tell you, or how to describe the state of the Administration, in the formation of which you had so much share. It is indeed still in such a state of embarrassment, that I am not enabled to give you a much more distinct account than I could have done on Saturday. Lord Castlereagh has resigned his office, upon being informed of an intention of removing him from his department, which had been for a considerable time secretly in contemplation; and Mr. Canning (upon whose objections to the management of the war department the project of removing Lord Castlereagh principally rested) has also tendered his resignation since that of the Duke of Portland took place. This dry statement of facts do no justice to the motives which actuated the different persons concerned, and it would take a volume to enter into particulars, which, after all, I might very imperfectly execute, having myself but recently learned the origin and progress of the transaction from which this triple resignation has resulted. The communications upon the question of Lord Castlereagh's removal, were for a considerable time confined to a very few persons. Perhaps it would not be very

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material to trouble you with this complicated story if I could find leisure, and thought you would have patience for it. Perhaps you may have been already more fully informed of the whole transaction in its progress, and from some other quarters. But, as my taking a share in the Government originated with you, and was in compliance with your interposition, I have thought it necessary to apprize you that the Administration, in the formation of which you bore so considerable a part, is in a state of confusion that threatens its dissolution. You know that I was not desirous of accepting any office except from the persuasion that I should be useful to the King's service; but having taken the pledge of affording my share of exertion to interpose between the King and those who last conducted the Government, I shall not be disposed to quit my post till I can do it in a way to strengthen the Government, or till the Administration is forced out. This probably will not be a long sacrifice and duty, but I shall at least obtain my release without self-reproach. Where additional force is to be sought for, and how it is to be acquired, has not yet been considered. As matters now stand, Perceval would be alone in the House of Commons. Canning, upon the policy on which he has withdrawn of thinking the Government weak, would not be able to avoid going into opposition, were he ever so much disposed to refrain. Unfortunately there is not an individual in the subordinate offices who can go through the whole of a complicated subject in debate in the House of Commons. How far the other

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side of the House are knit together, I know not; but a negotiation in a broken and tottering state is very different from a proposition made by a compact and united Government, and would of course be very differently received. I feel most anxiously for the King, but I see no satisfactory prospect of a satisfactory arrangement. I have written much more than I intended, and have been frequently interrupted. I know not whether my story or my speculations are intelligible, but I trust I shall leave no doubt of my being, with great regard, my dear Lord

" Yours very sincerely,

" MULGRAVE."

Lord Mulgrave to Lord Lonsdale.

" Admiralty, Sep. 16. 1809.

" My dear Lord,

" I wrote in such a hurry yesterday evening, that I hardly know how much I have detailed of the unpleasant business which has broken the Government to pieces, and how much yet remains for explanation. Most of the facts are, I believe, before you in my letter of last night. The *periods* appear to be in some degree material to account for such a concealment from the person most interested in the origin of the business; as it would naturally occur to inquire why Lord Castlereagh should have been, to the last moment, ignorant of what had been long intended respecting him? and why, if it were admitted that the war department could not be well administered in his hands, he was so long allowed to hold the Seals, and

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to propose and conduct a military operation of such magnitude and importance as the expedition to the Scheldt? Strange as it may appear, I am convinced that there existed no intention in any quarter, either to act with dissimulation or to compromise the interests of the public service. The first intimation to the Duke of Portland (as I have since learnt) of Canning's objection to the want of activity in the Government (pointing at the war department), was during the Easter recess, when he tendered his own resignation on the ground of the Government being inefficient for the exigencies of the times. This brought on explanations which led to the conclusion, that Lord Castlereagh should be removed from his office. It was deemed, however, highly important not to make a stir or change during the sitting of Parliament, after all the difficulties which the Government had encountered, in the House of Commons; and considering the unsettled and wild state of that body. But it was determined, that the arrangement by which Lord Wellesley was to become War Secretary, should take place at the prorogation. Lord Bathurst was at first alone privy to the discussion of this business between the Duke of Portland and Canning, and that, in consequence of his Grace wishing to avail himself of Lord Bathurst's advice and assistance. Lord Camden, was, however, at the request of the latter, made acquainted with what had passed, and was the person fixed upon to break it to Lord Castlereagh. I cannot tell you the periods at which these several communications took place,

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as my recollection does not serve me upon these dates. They have been only once mentioned to me, amidst a mass of other matter, previous to the prorogation. The expedition to the Scheldt had been discussed and determined, and a difficulty, it seems, here arose between the inconvenience of unhinging the Government during the sitting of Parliament, or of allowing Lord Castlereagh to prepare and equip an expedition, of which he was not to take either the credit or responsibility. This, however, was suffered to go on till the prorogation, when Canning claimed the performance of the arrangement previously settled, or the acceptance of his resignation. He was, however, prevailed upon to wait the issue of the expedition, when the change was to take place, whether that issue be success or failure. Canning appears to have been aware of, and to have stated the dilemma to which this would lead; either by the removal of a minister after a successful measure, or the appearance of sacrificing him as a screen to the rest of the Government in case of failure, when in fact neither of these considerations had anything to do with the original determination on this point; for some reason or other no communication had been made to Lord Castlereagh till the issue of the expedition was known, and it also came upon the other members of the cabinet (who were then first informed of it), as a totally new piece of intelligence; some of them expressed strong feelings of anxiety that Lord Castlereagh should not be suddenly placed in a situation of degrading dismissal, and that some ge-

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neral arrangement should cover his removal from the war department. The resignation of the Duke of Portland (who could not long have continued to sustain the weight of office), was the means adopted for effecting this guard and cover to the retreat of Lord Castlereagh (who had resigned in great displeasure upon hearing of the determination respecting himself). This resignation of the Duke of Portland, was received by Canning, as I have already told you, as a new state of things; as an arrangement to which he not only was not a party, but to which he had declined lending himself, although (it is necessary you should be informed), in the early study of this complicated transaction, he had considered the retirement of the Duke of Portland as part of the arrangement, and had expressed himself ready to hold office under Lord Chatham, as head of the Government. The failure of the expedition, however, would render that arrangement *now* impossible, and Canning will hear of no other third person as head. But being pressed in discussion with Perceval, he avows that, in his opinion, the Government must either be committed to him or to Perceval, as minister in the House of Commons; that he cannot act under Perceval, or even admit that Perceval should act under him if he were disposed to do so (this, out of consideration to him); Perceval, on the other hand, would readily agree to the appointment of a Peer as First Lord of the Treasury, and go on as they hitherto have done in the House of Commons.

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Our present situation (beyond which no progress has yet been made), I believe I explained to you last night. The Duke of Portland, Canning, and Lord Castlereagh, are out of office. The rest remains to be considered. For my own part, I am ready to assist any arrangement which may be best for the country, and may keep the pledge which we gave, I think to the King, in accepting office, at the time and in the manner we did. Upon the death of Pitt, I strongly felt the importance of making the Government strong, and the duty which we then had of withdrawing to make room for those who would, in opposition (in every sense of the word), if not of censuring the administration, certainly of preventing their taking the firm, active, and vigorous measures which the circumstances of this country and of Europe required. I felt that in making room for them, it was also incumbent upon us not to disturb their government with opposition and annoyance; and to this I personally adhered, except in such cases in which I thought the measures and memory of Mr. Pitt pointedly attacked. That Government having driven the King to the necessity of dismissing them, on a question in which he was ready to stake every thing, those who under such circumstances took office, certainly took upon themselves the implied pledge of defending the King to the utmost of their exertions, from a recurrence of the same difficulty. Upon this view of my own engagement, I feel it a point of honour, either to struggle to the last to keep that question out of the

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Closet, or to lend myself by my retirement to any arrangement to effectuate that object, if my withdrawing from office can in any way be supposed to facilitate the accomplishment of it. I have added these few words respecting myself, not only because it was through you that I came into Government, and that you are acquainted with the motive and manner of my doing so; but also, because I am most earnestly desirous of possessing your unqualified good opinion, and that there should be no doubt on your mind of the uniformity and directness of my political principles and conduct.

"I am, &c., &c., &c.,

"MULGRAVE."

R. Ward, Esq. to Lord Palmerston.

"Admiralty, Sep. 30. 1809.

"My dear Lord,

"I write rather to show that I am mindful of your commands, than because I have any news for you. It is no news that Lords Grey and Grenville have peremptorily refused a junction, though it *is*, perhaps, that the newspapers in inserting that fact, have really spoken truth. Lord Grey's answer declared that he could not hold office with the present Cabinet, and this being his feeling, he thought it fairest to tell them so at once, and spare all trouble; and, as he did not construe Perceval's letter into a command of the King to attend him, he begged to be excused coming to town; but requested, if he had mistaken the mes-

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sage, that his humble duty might be presented to his Majesty, with an intimation that he was ready, in an instant, to set out to attend him, upon receiving his commands. Lord Grenville, having construed the letter into a command, set out immediately, and only sent word, that his answer should be given on his arrival. He was for some time with the Prince (who, however, was supposed friendly to the junction), and then gave a decided refusal. I hear, in the streets, that he returned to the country to-day, perhaps only to Dropmore; but, at any rate, his friends won't thank him for making them flock to town, from some hundreds of miles off. This being at an end, we are left to ourselves; some say the best, some say the worst people we could be left to. Nothing of course decided, but, as far as we are let into the secret, Perceval will be Premier, and have the whole Treasury. The Foreign Office to be left to the election of Lord Wellesley, when he or his answer arrives, and R. Dundas to have the war department. Everything else to remain as it is, unless Long, who to me is evidently undecided, gives up the Pay Office. Thus no nibbling at the Sidmouths, nor no overture to Lord Melville, who, however, has written a letter to his son, full of duty to the King and indignation against Canning, whose pretension, he says, is unsufferable. He therefore desires Dundas not to think of leaving the King's service out of any regard for Canning, but to go back to his post and stand all events. As to himself, he says, he is independent of party. This arrangement, however, will at least keep all the Scotch. T. Tyr-

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whitt tells me, the Prince resolves to persevere in his conduct in respect to all parties; but he adds, that the country is entirely against us on the expedition, and that we shall be beaten the first day. If so, the aspiring archangel must be beaten too. I cannot help applying to him —

> 'Lifted up so high,
> I'sdeined subjection, and thought one step higher
> Would set me highest.'

Cook, *in furore*, says Lord Castlereagh will state his case to the House; and the Duke and Canning stand a chance of being impeached, for suffering a man, whose dismissal they had obtained for incapacity, to go on five months with the management of the expedition. Not bad grounds to take, and at least we may be sure we shall not have a very milk-and-water session. The whole of this battery, you see, opens upon Canning as well as others. This is entirely a letter of nothing, but inasmuch as it is so, and of no value to you, while it, perhaps, may amuse my old age to look at the sort of gossip Lords of the Admiralty wrote to one another in 1809, I will beg the favour of you just to put it into a cover, at any time convenient, and return it to,

" My dear Lord,

" Your ever faithful

" R. WARD."

" I find Lord W. Bentinck will probably be Secretary of War. Perceval is to be First Lord of the Treasury."

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Lord Lonsdale to R. Ward, Esq.

"Lowther, Oct. 10. 1809.

"My dear Sir,

"The long-expected statement to which your letter refers, appeared in the last paper. Not having seen the correspondence, which, however, does not appear to be referred to, I cannot judge of the degree to which the concealment has been carried; but even the defence, as far as it relates to the point to which it seems immediately directed, is very insufficient, because there is scarcely any distinction, in moral guilt, betwixt the person acquiescing or conniving at improper transactions and the person performing it. Any opinion favourable to Canning will not make much progress by the assistance of this paper. He has left the most important part of the question just where he began with it, and I think his friends will have a difficult task assigned them, if they are to supply what is wanting. Lord Wellesley is so much connected with Canning, I think he must share his fortunes; if he should determine otherwise, you will have the advantage of seeing an important office very ably filled; but I don't think this accession will add much strength. If that is so, the question of communicating with Lord Sidmouth is as urgent as ever. On that point, however, I see no reason to alter my opinion. His friends in the House of Commons are not a sufficient object to look to; and what strength can compensate for the loss of character the Government would sustain by associating itself with him?

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The utmost it could effect, would be to carry a question at the outset, with a better show of numbers; but I am not sure that you would *not* lose as much as you would gain. I can enter into a good deal of what you have said, on former occasions, respecting Lord Melville, but I can see no reason for listening to a clamour, which is as unjust as it is unfounded. His talents for business, and his habits, would render him a most able assistant to any government, and I shall regret if there is an obstacle to his being employed. Sir Francis might fail; but I cannot help thinking that the Government would require a weight in the country, which the accession of great talents must always afford.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Very faithfully yours,

"LONSDALE."

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CHAP. X.

DIARY, 1809.

CAUSES AND PROGRESS OF DISSENSIONS IN CABINET.—PROGRESS OF PERCEVAL'S ADMINISTRATION.—LETTER FROM MR. PERCEVAL TO LORD MELVILLE.—LORD MELVILLE'S REPLY.

THE statement referred to in the foregoing letter will be gathered in detail from Mr. Ward's diary, which I shall now extract. It begins abruptly with a pretty full sketch of some of the preliminary letters, which appear to have been shown to him by Mr. Perceval himself.

Perceval very kindly allowed me to see the correspondence, which is as follows, but told me to suspend my opinion upon Canning's case till I had seen the three last of the letters, which were not then copied. They are now all together.

June 26th, 1809.—In the first, *from Perceval to Canning*, bearing date June 26th, 1809, the writer mentions to Canning that he had been allowed by the Duke of Portland to see the Chancellor before he conversed with Canning on the subject. Gathers from them that, upon Canning's determination having been made known to the King and the Duke *not to continue* in office unless Lord Castlereagh relinquished the War Department, [that] it was finally settled that, unless Lord C. will acquiesce in that arrangement, or

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some other which will remove him from that Department (which appears to me, says P. utterly impossible to reconcile to his feelings), he must quit the Government. Thinks it impossible to be intended by those who know how the discussion is likely to terminate, that Lord C. should have been permitted to go on preparing the expedition, be responsible for it, and yet be deprived of the superintendence of its execution; and therefore supposes this must materially alter Canning's own view of the matter. Knows *now* how long the business had been pending, but had no suspicion of it till Thursday last. Knows, and enters fully into, and gives credit for, the motives which induced Canning to consent to delay. Thinks Lord Castlereagh has a right to suppose that all his colleagues who consented to his arranging the expedition, consented to allow him the execution of it, and also to make common cause with him in the responsibility attached to it, according to their respective stations: at least that there was no latent ground of objection to him on account of anything that had been permitted to pass by without notice to him. Extreme hardship of removing him now, not for any new fault in the arrangement of the expedition, but for what had been known to exist before by those who are to remove him. Will not, with his feelings of what is due to a colleague, consent to appear to be a party to such a hardship; and if asked by Lord Castlereagh will not conceal his opinion. Knows not how soon this may happen to himself, and therefore personally concerned. Excuses the Duke for concealing the

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matter from him, because, though he disapproves his reason, sure he did not mean it as a personal slight.

Canning's answer, written the same day, and with the object apparently of avoiding at that moment any discussion of the point in question, was, that "no apology was necessary from Perceval to him for delay, nor from him to Perceval for answering very shortly, because the Duke of Portland was the only proper channel for him to address; and felt "*not only not bound*, but hardly at liberty to enter into partial discussions with any individual members of the Administration, unless the Duke desired him to do so." Proposed arrangement did not originate with, and only complied with by him out of respect to a suggestion of the King. No concealment on his part, because—1st, having begged to be permitted to retire before the recommencement of business after Easter, he had no purpose for concealment; but, 2dly, he knew Lord Camden, Lord Castlereagh's bosom friend, had been the second person made acquainted with his resolution by the Duke, who selected him as the fittest person to communicate with Lord Castlereagh, which, if he has not done, it is no fault of Canning's, and cannot believe that it is any fault of the Duke's.

Acting upon Canning's suggestion, Mr. Perceval, the same day, also addressed a letter to the Duke, in which he acquaints him with the letters between Canning and himself.

Struck, too, by the tone of Canning's letter, he addresses to him another, in which he acquits him of having originated the plan in respect to Lord Castle-

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reagh's removal,—"non-communication" expresses his meaning better than "concealment." Does not think the communication on Canning's part, *in the first instance even*, to Lord Castlereagh, and *at no time* to the rest of the Government [called for?]; but it was the duty of *some one* or other who knew it to acquaint Lord Castlereagh. "I certainly," says he, "should have felt it so towards you, that before so material an act as the removal of any colleague, holding so efficient an office in Government as Lord Castlereagh's, was determined upon, the Duke should have apprised you of it." Allows [that] the Duke's reasons (though he does not approve them) for not acquainting him with it, *disincline* him to think more about it. Agrees that any further opinion had better be expressed, not to each other, but to the Duke.

June 27th.—Canning's reply did not come till next day; and in it he sends a copy of a letter he had written to the Duke;—adds that any momentary impression that he might have felt on receiving Perceval's first letter was done away, and would have been done away upon reflection even before he received the second.

Canning having asked for his letter back again, Perceval did not think himself justified in taking a copy. It should seem, however, from Perceval's letter in reply, that Canning had proposed to take the management of the war immediately away from Lord Castlereagh in everything but the expedition, which Perceval opposes from the want of confidence it would discover, which would hamper him in man-

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aging the expedition. It should seem also that the King had proposed that the Foreign Office should have the management of a *part* of the war; which Perceval opposes, in order that whoever had the War might also have the disposal of *all* the force.

No further correspondence upon the subject appears to have taken place for a fortnight; but then Lord Camden, in a letter undated, but indorsed "received July 11th," informs Mr. Perceval that "he has written to the Duke;" and in his letter, and a conversation he has had, confines himself to a statement. He proposes that a time should be given, not earlier than the end of the expedition, for the purpose of making an arrangement satisfactory to Lord Castlereagh; for which purpose he has offered his office, but confines the offer to that purpose alone.

In a letter *from the Duke of Portland to Perceval*, written at 11 o'clock that night, he is informed that Canning is satisfied with the state to which the business is brought,—only requires that if Lord Wellesley is to have the Seals, or any other place, he should be acquainted with it before he goes to Spain.

Next came a communication from Perceval to the Duke of Portland, written, as he says, "in very great agitation of mind; the fourth he has begun that morning on the subject." He has appeared to yield to arguments, for the sake of preventing the ruin of the Government, which cannot convince him;—finally resolves nothing shall make him to consent and give the pledge with the rest to stand by one another in an arrangement with respect

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to Lord Castlereagh *unknown to* him. Thinks, if he does, Lord C., nor no man, can ever "have the least reliance upon the sincerity or implied good faith of any political (I will not call it friendship, for it would be prostituting the term, but) connection with me hereafter." All that he will pledge himself to is, to serve under any First Lord of the Treasury to be taken from their own body, including Lord Wellesley, provided Lord Castlereagh can be kept; but will not pledge himself to anything in respect to Lord C. without his knowledge. He at the same time informs the Duke of Portland that he thinks it not unlikely that Canning will desire to know of the Duke, if his colleagues have given a pledge to make an arrangement to remove Lord Castlereagh at the end of the expedition, provided he delays the communicating of it to Lord Wellesley, and begs the Duke will give no such pledge in his name.

After a further interval of more than six weeks, Mr. Perceval communicates to Canning, in a letter dated the 28th August, that he thinks the Duke so ill that he must resign soon, having some time before tendered his resignation.* Suggests that advantage might be taken of this to save the appearance of harshness to Lord Castlereagh under a new arrangement of the Government: that with respect to himself, he will serve under any one who may be agreeable to his colleagues, provided he is more efficient. Is *confident* such an arrangement might be made.

* *Original note.* — At an earlier period of the year.

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Upon this Canning the same day asks two questions in answer: — 1st, "Whether the Duke has intimated an intention to resign." 2ndly, "As Perceval expresses himself confident an arrangement may be made of the Government, — whether the confidence proceeds from his own view of things, or from any communication, and what, with any of his colleagues?"

Perceval replied next day that he had no authority from the Duke, and no one knew of his communication to Canning except Lord Harrowby, whom (in a letter he *had* written to Canning,) he had mentioned as First Lord of the Treasury, under whom he would prefer acting; but Lord Harrowby peremptorily refused, and convinced him it was hopeless, and he therefore expunged the passage. Though the Duke should not resign, necessary to consider at least of a successor, in the event of another attack, which had recently so nearly deprived them of him. This "confidence" proceeded solely from his own view of things: the word, therefore, perhaps too strong, but means only, that provided, on a communication with *all* his colleagues, they should *all* agree upon keeping the Government together, the arrangement might be made; too strong, also, because he does not know how far agreeable it might be to Dundas, whose conditional notice to quit he had mentioned to Canning. Has had no communication with any one on the subject except Lord Harrowby (in the manner before mentioned), and the Chancellor and Lord Liverpool; and with them only as to the necessity to be prepared

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with a successor when the Duke should retire. Idle to think of anything specific without knowing what he (Canning) thought of it.

Canning's reply was to the effect that, without meaning to decline meeting Perceval's confidence, or thinking the subject ought not to be discussed, from what passed between him and the Duke at Easter, and from what he knows passed between him and the King on the Duke's tendering his resignation, he (Canning) feels a personal difficulty in "ever again originating the subject with the Duke," and as he has not himself mentioned it, declines entering upon it.

Perceval silenced this scruple by replying, that the King himself had desired Lord Liverpool to think with his colleagues upon a successor for the Duke, who would not be able long to continue; and upon this Canning, in a very important letter dated the 31st of August, in which he opens the real question to which the minds of both had, no doubt, been directed, but which neither had chosen to be the first to discuss. He began by saying that he "owes it to the frankness with which Perceval had opened himself to him, and the knowledge that the King has advised thinking of a successor to tell him that he has for some time been convinced, and every month's experience tends to confirm that experience more and more, that a *Minister*, and that Minister in the House of Commons, is indispensable to the well carrying on of the King's Government in these times. I cannot," he goes on, "venture to conjecture how far others, our colleagues, may concur in the opinion; I of course

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cannot mean to pretend to disguise either from you or from myself, that the choice of such a Minister in the present Administration, would be to be made between us two. I am not so presumptuous as to expect that you acquiesce in that choice falling upon me. On the other hand, I hope and trust that you will not consider it as any want of esteem or kindness on my part towards you personally (than which I do assure you nothing could be more entirely foreign to my real feelings), if I could not think it possible to remain in office under the change which would necessarily be produced in my situation by the appointment of a First Minister in the House of Commons, even in your person. I have thus declared my sentiments to you without reserve; however you may probably differ from them, you will, I hope, give me credit for their being the result of a sincere and, on many grounds, unwilling conviction. And you will now be at no loss to account for any backwardness which you may have thought I have shown to enter upon the very delicate question of eventual arrangement. Believe me, &c."

Perceval to Canning, 31*st August*. — Acknowledges with thankfulness the frankness of Canning's letter; agrees that the Prime Minister in the House of Commons would be the most advantageous arrangement of the Government. "I never disguise from myself, nor from any one, that if that Minister in the House of Commons was to be looked for among the members of the present Government, it would be pretty generally agreed that it should be one of us two. I always thought it actually out of the question to suppose that

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you would acquiesce in the choice falling on me. I therefore thought it necessary to look to the other House of Parliament, not from a disinclination to have that inferiority marked by office which I unaffectedly feel to be so strongly marked in every other way, but because I conceived that it* would not only be attended in the detail of the arrangement with much practical difficulty, but certainly as far as situation is concerned, because I feel that it would be greater in my person in the latter supposition, than in yours in the former.† For it could not be otherwise brought about, as I conceive, than by my actual removal from my present office. You could not continue Secretary of State and be Prime Minister, you must be First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer. This (I mean my actual supercession) would be the thing that I should feel principally painful, and I cannot disguise from you that I certainly should feel it so.‡ I therefore looked to the other House of Parliament for a Minister who would leave us where we were, and consequently make the least practical change in either of our situations. A positive and peremptory opinion, however, one way or the other, upon what my disposition would be under the circumstance above supposed, you will not expect from me so expeditiously as I am

* *Original note*—P. here makes the following note:—"This is extremely awkwardly expressed;" it means the other alternative, namely, the arrangement which would place Canning at the head of the Treasury.

† *Original note.*—I suppose he means the change would be greater.

‡ The writer's previous remark, "this is extremely awkwardly expressed," might have been here repeated.

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desirous of answering your letters." He then says he will consult other judgments, and concludes: "Thus much I can say, that it will be a very painful consideration, and one that I will yield to with the greatest reluctance, to think that any personal feeling of mine should stand in the way of an arrangement which might otherwise preserve to the King his present servants. Once more thanking you for the frankness of your letter, I am, &c."

Perceval to Canning. No date.—[His own moderate and modest intentions with regard to his own pretences were not shared in by his friends, and the result is communicated as follows:]—"Having, since I last saw you, communicated very fully with my brother (Lord Arden), whom I saw this morning, upon the subject of our correspondence, I am now fully satisfied in my own mind that I should be considered by my friends as suffering a degree of degradation by my removal from my present office and situation in the House of Commons, which I ought not to acquiesce in. I believe I left you strongly impressed with the opinion that such would probably be my determination (which, indeed, I collected to be your own also), but as I had not fully and decisively expressed it to you before, I thought it necessary to trouble you with this line. This being the case, I earnestly hope, that though the arrangement under a third person would not appear general and satisfactory, yet that under present circumstances and difficulties which really arise out of our situation, without any fault of either of us, it is preferable to

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that total overthrow of the present Government, which otherwise is likely at no great distance to ensue. I am, &c."

The date of the above letter was not endorsed on the copy seen by Mr. Ward; it must have been, however, just after, and was probably in some degree connected with, a letter which was on Saturday, the 2nd of September, addressed to the Duke of Portland, and is by him alluded to in one to Mr. Perceval, dated Sunday, 3rd September, in which he complains that he did not imagine he should be called upon earlier than Wednesday to perform the promise as to Lord Castlereagh and Lord Wellesley, but Canning writes that "the pressure in point of time has become so much more urgent, and the probability of saving the Government by any change, if longer deferred, so doubtful, that he should think himself wanting to the country, to his Majesty, and to the Duke, as well as to himself, if he were not on that day (viz. yesterday) to remind me that the period was arrived when, according to *his Majesty's gracious promise* communicated by me, Lord Wellesley was to be called to the office of Secretary of State for the War Department." The Duke adds, he cannot conjecture what can be the apprehensions that have urged Canning to this; but no consideration shall induce him, the Duke, to proceed farther in this unfortunate transaction without the King's commands, which he will not ask for till Wednesday.

Perceval to Duke of Portland, 3rd September. — Perceval, the same day in reply, regrets that Canning

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should urge the promise just in the moment of failure. Proposes more extended arrangements than the change demanded by Canning, as a means of softening the difficulty which he had pointed at before, and which, as he says, would at once cover Lord Castlereagh, and relieve the Duke from the burthen of his situation, to which he knew he had sacrificed his ease for the King's service, &c. &c.

Duke of Portland to Perceval, 4th September.— The Duke (4th September) replies that Perceval does him nothing but justice in thinking he will lend himself *in any and every way* that *can be imagined*, to prevent the explosion that threatens them; he heartily thanks him for it. "As there was a time," he goes on, "when such a step would have been considered by Canning as leading to means which would have prevented a change of Government, and must have contributed to strengthen it; and he even to this moment, or at least till very lately, has professed a desire *upon no account to remove any person*, but only to add one person more* to the Cabinet. I am willing to hope that he may still be found in the same disposition he professed at Easter, and that no difficulty will be met with from that quarter. And should that be the case, I trust that his Majesty would not object to that which in my conscience I believe to be the only means by which the fate of Government is to be obviated."

On 7th of September, Perceval informs Canning

* Lord Wellesley.

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that he has seen a letter from Canning to the Duke, adverting to what the Duke had told him, that the execution of the promise would bring along with it several other resignations, and therefore *voluntarily relinquishing the promise.* Assures him that he is not one of those who meant to resign on that account, because he thinks the resignation of the Duke opens a reasonable way by extending the arrangement to settle the difficulties.

Canning, 8th September, tells Perceval he is right in imagining that, in his letter to the Duke, he thought Perceval one of those who meant to resign, "if the King's promise of Lord Wellesley's *appointment to the* War Department should be carried into effect." Perceval's letter of yesterday does not vary his view of the case; because he understands by it, that if anything retarded the Duke's resignation, he (P.) would still object to the promise, and as the promise was made two months ago, without any condition, he finds himself in a situation he did not foresee. From which he says "I still think there is no way (without stirring very delicate and embarrassing questions) but by my voluntarily foregoing an engagement, the difficulties * are thus unexpectedly increased since His Majesty entered into it." Imputes no blame to Perceval, because not bound as a party to the promise, and therefore has a right to impede it.

Perceval, evidently unwilling to let his assumed intention upon an event that was not to occur form

* *Original Note* — I suppose the words "of which" ought to be inserted, though left out in the copy I saw.

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any pretext for the line of conduct Canning might wish to adopt, in his reply, of the same date, enforces again the expediency of profiting by the Duke's resignation to cover Lord Castlereagh, and thinks what he might have done if there had been no such opportunity as the resignation afforded, has no bearing upon the case, now the resignation is at hand. Upon the point that the difficulty which Canning calls "*unexpected*," explains, as far as regards himself, his notice to the Duke that he would give no pledge to be a party to Lord C's. removal without his knowledge, and that he did not tell Canning this, because he had laid down that they had better have no communication together, but state every thing through the Duke.* Sends copy of his letter to the Duke of the date 13th July. The Duke told him yesterday afternoon † that Lord C. had sent in his resignation, and expresses a still existing hope that, under all these circumstances, he may still feel it possible to consent to some arrangement with respect to the Duke of Portland's office, which may continue to hold them together.

Upon this Canning, 9th September, wishes he had seen P.'s letter, of 13th July, to the Duke sooner, and upon the Duke's retiring goes on thus: "The Duke of Portland's resignation did not in my view appear to have any connection with the other ar-

* The confusion that seems to hang about this sentence, may perhaps be owing to its being repeated in the third person.

† *Original Note.*—In the margin there is a *query* placed against this, which I suppose only points to the time when the Duke told him.

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rangement. I have had no part in producing that resignation at this moment*, and, upon being consulted upon it beforehand, I stated, certainly with sufficient frankness, that I thought it would create new difficulties. That resignation has nevertheless been brought about. As soon as I was informed of it, I hastened to withdraw a demand †, the compliance with which, under these circumstances, could no longer be effectual to the whole of its original purpose. It is therefore no fault of mine if the demand has (if it has) been acted upon, and I am certainly not responsible for difficulties which I explicitly foretold, and the solution of which does not depend, and cannot in fairness be stated to depend, on me alone. "Believe me &c."

On the 18th of September, he again addresses Perceval, stating that he is too imperfectly informed what part of his late conduct is known to his colleagues, that it is only on hearing some innocent misrepresentation of it that he feels the necessity of explanation. Huskisson has apprised him for the first time of very important misconceptions on the part of P. 1st, that his original representation to the Duke related *directly* and *personally* to Ld. Castlereagh, and that

* *Note.*—This is in conformity with what Lord Mulgrave told me, that C. said *he* did not, but *they* did break up the Government by forcing the D. to resign. Yet he always knew P.'s uniform opinion upon the necessity of a more extended arrangement, founded on the D.'s resignation when Ld. C. should be removed.

† *Original Note.*—Withdraw, however, only by resigning; and, therefore, not at all, as I understood Huskisson to state it to me; an unqualified giving back of the promise.

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from the beginning he had demanded his removal. He therefore incloses his letter to the Duke written at Easter, by which it will appear that he remonstrated on the general state of the Government, and his only demand was permission to retire himself. "Whatever particular question of arrangement (he says) followed afterwards, arose not from demands of mine, but from suggestions or proposals to me."* 2ndly, he fears Perceval thinks him "an unremonstrating accomplice" in the concealment, &c. from Ld. C. He therefore incloses a copy of a letter from him to the Duke and the answer, which he flatters himself will clear him.†

(Copy.)

Mr. Canning to the Duke of Portland.

"18th July.

"My dear Lord,

"There is one point in your Grace's letter of Sunday night, which I am sorry to find I omitted to notice in my answer. I mean that of the reserve which has been practised, and which (as your Grace

* *Original Note.*—He surely cannot mean to say, that Ld. C.'s removal was not proposed *by* but *to* him. He, at least, does not prove it; but the contrary is proved by any document I have seen. At any rate, the letter he sends is not the letter wanted to enable P. to judge of his assertion; he should have sent him the first letter in which Ld. C. is mentioned by name, or so as not to be mistaken.

† *Original Note.*—How clear him? because, forsooth, he first accused Ld. C. at Easter, at the end of March, and absolutely remonstrated on the 18th July!

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informs me) is to be continued towards Ld. Castlereagh. As his Majesty has been pleased to sanction the continuance of this system, under the present circumstances it could ill become me to presume to question the propriety of it. But in justice to myself I cannot forbear to request of your Grace, that it may be remembered, whenever hereafter the concealment will be alleged (as I doubt not it will) against *me* as an act of injustice against Ld. Castlereagh, that it did not originate in my suggestion, that so far from desiring it, I conceived, however erroneously, Ld. Camden to be the channel of communication to Ld. C., and that up to a very late period I believed such communication to have been actually made. *

"I am, &c."

The Duke of Portland to Mr. Canning.

"18th July.

"As to the reserve which you observe has been practised, and is to be continued towards Ld. C., I have not the least hesitation in assuring you, that I shall avow its having originated with me, and whatever blame may have been, or be to be incurred, to take the whole of it, and to acknowledge the remonstrances *you have repeatedly made* against it. But I must own to you that I neither knew, nor did I imagine that, to a late period, or indeed at any time

* *Original Note.*—One can believe many things, but hardly this! What! think that Ld. C. actually knew the conspiracy against him, yet daily go on in perfect cordiality with the conspirators in council, in private and friendly meetings, and social dinners?

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since the measure of Ld. C.'s removal has been in agitation, you have believed that communication of it had been actually made to him.* From whom, indeed, could it be necessary to conceal it, when it was once made known to him?† As far, I mean, as the harmony of the Administration was concerned. But it is not my wish to discuss the propriety of the reserve that has been observed. I will only say that it having been a condition required by me of every person to whom I communicated what had passed between you and me at, and subsequent to, our conversation at Bulstrode; and that the King, having permitted me to lay my reasons for that concealment before him, and having been pleased to sanction it, by requiring it to be observed by those to whom he had occasion to mention the subject, it did not occur to me, that it could have been supposed that it *had been departed from* in the case of Ld. Castlereagh himself.‡ But it happens that it has not been so, and in that respect my mind is at rest. And, as I am willing to take upon myself all the blame that may be to be incurred, I hope no farther uneasiness will arise to you from that consideration. Believe me, always, my dear C., with the most sincere and affectionate attachment, truly yours,

"PORTLAND."

* *Original Note.*—How should he?

† *Original Note.*—The D. is, I fear, far too logical for Mr. C.'s ingenuity. The question, why the *repeated* remonstrances alluded to were made, if C. thought Ld. C. was acquainted, cannot be answered.

‡ *Note.*—Another home thrust of the Duke.

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The first letter from Canning to the Duke of Portland, in which originated the whole of the difficulties, will aptly close the correspondence.

Mr. Canning to the Duke of Portland.

"Foreign Office, March 24.

"My dear Lord,

"I do not know whether the conversation which I had with your Grace at Bulstrode, in October or November, and afterwards at Burlington House, just previously to the opening of the session, will have prepared your Grace for the communication I have now to make to you. It was my intention so far to prepare your Grace for it, by these conversations, as that, when the period for making it should arrive, your Grace might not be taken by surprise; at the same time that, while it was yet possible that events might occur to render the communication itself unnecessary, I was not desirous of giving your Grace the trouble of a discussion which might be to no purpose. The period does appear to be now arrived when I can, with the least inconvenience to your Grace, and with the least possible chance of any imputation or suspicion of other motives than those which really actuate me, state to your Grace in the utmost confidence, and without any reserve, my sincere opinion as to the situation of your Grace's Government, and the conclusions to which those opinions lead me. In doing this I trust your Grace will understand me, not as

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presuming to blame or to criticise the conduct of others, but simply as wishing to explain, in the fullest and clearest manner, the motives of what may be my own. No man, I apprehend, can shut his eyes to the fact that the Government has sunk in public opinion since the end of the last session of Parliament. The Convention of Cintra was, according to my judgment and belief, the primary cause of this change. The unfortunate result of the Spanish campaign confirmed it. Probably neither the Convention, which was not our work, nor the failure in Spain, which was not our fault, would have had the effect upon the character and popularity of the Government, had we not, in both instances, made ourselves responsible in public opinion, for transactions of which the blame did not, in fact, rest upon ourselves; a conduct of which, in both instances, the evil appears to me to have arisen from a spirit of compromise; from a desire to avoid meeting difficulties in front, and a hope of getting round them by arrangement; principles of action utterly unsuited, in my humble opinion, to a Government acting in such times as these. I wish I could see anything in our present proceedings which promised to repair the past. But your Grace need not be informed how little we have been doing; nor (to omit other subjects) need I remind your Grace how often, within the two last months, I have ventured to press the situation of Portugal upon the attention of the Cabinet, and how slow the progress has been to any decision upon that subject. It is not for me to point out to your Grace the causes of the state of

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things; but I feel it my duty to your Grace, as well as to myself, fairly to avow to your Grace, *that the Government, as at present constituted, does not appear to me equal to the great task which it has to perform.* With this conscientious persuasion upon my mind, my first wish is, certainly, that the defects, wherever they lie, should be remedied. But if that should be impracticable, my next wish is, that your Grace may not take it unkindly if I desire to withdraw myself from a share in the responsibility for a system, in my own judgment, so little adequate to the crisis in which the country and the world are placed. I will not disguise from your Grace, that this desire first arose out of that decision respecting the Convention of Cintra, which was taken by the Cabinet in my absence, and my reason for dissenting from which I felt it incumbent upon me most humbly to lay before the King. I was diverted from my purpose at that time, by the disposition which I found in the Cabinet subsequently to adopt, and to act upon many of the views which I had taken of particular parts of the Convention. While the discussion upon that subject was going on, the march of the British army into Spain, under the command of Sir J. Moore, was decided; a measure in which, under the circumstances of the moment, I was *induced to concur* (how reluctantly, and with how little hope of good, your Grace well knows); and in which, having once concurred, I felt myself bound in honour to take my full share in all its consequences. Soon after the meeting of Parliament, and before the question arising out of

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the Portuguese and Spanish campaigns had been disposed of, that relating to the Duke of York was brought forward; a question, on the one hand, deeply interesting to the personal feelings of the King, and supposed, on the other, to threaten the stability of the Administration; and of which, therefore, I was determined, by every sentiment of duty, affection for his Majesty, and of honour towards my colleagues, to wait the termination. That question is now at an end; and there is now a pause between the winding-up of the result of the last year's counsels and the commencement of operations for the year to come. The questions of future policy with almost all the powers of Europe, and those of the plans of the campaign, both in the north and in the south, are open; and it is before the decision upon these most important points is taken, and before, therefore, any pledge of responsibility for the future is incurred, that I have thought it right to avail myself of this opportunity, fairly and explicitly to lay before your Grace opinions, in the formation of which, I can honestly say, regard for the interests of the country has had by far the largest share, and in considering and deciding upon which I request your Grace to have no farther regard for me, personally, than may be sufficient to induce you to come to some conclusion, if possible, before business in Parliament recommences after the holidays. I shall be most happy to converse with your Grace upon the subject of this letter whenever your Grace desires it; but it is obviously a subject which I could not, in the first

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instance, have opened to your Grace as fully and clearly as I wished in conversation.

"Ever, my dear Lord,

"Your Grace's most faithful and affectionate Servant,

"GEORGE CANNING."

September 29th. — Upon the perusal of this correspondence, all but the last four letters, I wrote to Perceval that, according to his desire, I would suspend opinion till I saw the whole, but if nothing appeared in the letters that were to come to alter my sentiments, I was bound to think C.'s conduct to Ld. C. still more cruel and unjust than I thought it before; and the only mitigating circumstance as to other points was, that Canning had announced his pretensions to Perceval *before* the Duke had resigned, whereas I thought it had been on the actual resignation that he first broached his doctrine, and set up his consequent claim. Perceval sent me the last letters, and instead of altering my opinion, I think they prove C. more jesuitical* than before.

* I have not thought it always necessary, either here or subsequently, to omit expressions conveying the feelings at the moment of the writer and his party, and therefore interesting as affording a clue to that separation which so long weakened the Tory party. Posterity will judge of the character of a great man like Canning from the whole tenor of his life, and not from the impressions produced by insulated acts upon those whom such acts affected. Mr. Canning was not the first, as he certainly will not be the last, great political leader, whose very *greatness* has embittered the judgment of his own party. Mr. Ward's opinion, not only of the talent but of the character of George Canning, in after years coincided with that of all who watched the progress, and mourned the sudden close, of his bright career. Of all the imperfections to which human greatness must still be subject, I believe few who review the acts of his busy life will ascribe to him that of being "jesuitical."

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Certainly he is far from proving himself the *remonstrating* colleague against concealment which he asserts himself to be. At least the *letter* of remonstrance appears after fourteen weeks' acquiescence in the concealment. And if any weight is intended to be given to the part of the D.'s letter, which allows that he has *frequently* remonstrated, weight might also be given to that unfortunate shrewdness in the Duke (while observing upon the still more jesuitical assertion of C., that he thought Ld. Camden had actually communicated the matter to Ld. C.), viz. that he could not see the necessity of remonstrating against concealment where no concealment was thought to exist. The *general* remonstrance in the letter of March 24th is a most able piece, and makes us only the more regret that so fine a vessel should want the sheet-anchor of uprightness.

Ld. Grey's and Ld. Grenville's answers are come, and Ld. Grenville himself arrived this morning. They both refuse the overture which fills me with unaffected regret, though my friends are more certainly fixed in office by it. But no office is valuable in comparison with the necessity for the country for the strongest Government that can be formed, and this (could certain differences of opinion be quieted for the present) would have been the strongest Government that could have been formed —strong to all general purposes, but particularly against the mad strides of the fanatic fools and the knaves that always guide all sorts of fools. Their answers and conduct were much in character. The

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street politics show the hopes that have been conceived from the messages and the rejection of them, neither more nor less than that the Cabinet will be forced to strike, in which they will find themselves mistaken.

Met the Dean of Windsor (Legge), who said there were persons who thought Canning in the right, and that it was naturally to be expected from the *entourage* of friends that surrounded him. He, however, did not know the case.

October 14*th.* — Dined at Ld. M.'s; P. and C. dined there too; P. went off to the play, and C. and I remained till eleven with Ld. M. and fought Canning over again; Ld. M. as usual inclined to defend him, I can't see why. I mentioned ———'s report, that resentment at Ld. Castlereagh's sacrificing Frere to Moore's memory was the groundwork of Canning's enmity. ——— thought that he was pampered by his own fancy of his own importance, nursed up still higher by the perpetual praises of a few young men with whom he lived, to the exclusion of others, and to whom he made himself agreeable. He thought his scheme was neither more nor less from the beginning than to make himself head, by getting rid either of Castlereagh or Perceval, whichever he could first. Ld. M. thought that were unwise, and that in a mere political point of view it would have been better to have made Ld. C. a friend as one he could lead. I said it would have been best of all, as Pole had observed, to have condescended to the old maxim, "Honesty is the best policy."

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October 16*th.* — Dined at Ld. Mulgrave's — the Board, Bathurst, Rose and Croker, and Captain Cockburn. Staid late along with Ld. M., who continued to defend Canning as to Ld. Castlereagh. We went over the former part of his busy meddling life, when Addington first came in. Ld. M. thought he had never forgiven him for breaking off that strangest of all intrigues in 1802; that the more he thought of it, the more he wondered at the rashness and presumption of the man in endeavouring to do in secret what, if it had succeeded, Pitt never could have delivered himself from the imputation of being concerned in; and what, therefore, had weakened C. in P.'s estimation. He scouted the idea of endeavouring to break up the Government at that time by such an anonymous proceeding. He thought any how, Canning had half ruined himself with all parties and in public opinion, even in points where he was not so much to blame. We talked of the chances of calling upon the Sidmouth people; I imagined that at least the Grenvilles and he were separated, and that they would suppose there would be no chance of coming in with them again. Ld. M. said No; that they understood one another. The presumption of Canning, he said, consisted in overrating his supporters; that he counted upon numbers who did not and would not follow him; that he had told the Duke of Portland, in discussing the question of a successor, that he was prepared to propose a Government, in which probably, as had been mentioned to Ld. M., he would have found himself, without being

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consulted, continued at the head of the Admiralty. I said, provided the King had called upon Canning, and there had been no intrigue, I would conceive the Government standing by him. Ld. M. said, in that case there would be no difficulty; but the height of the thing was, that in Canning's place he was to have the controlling power over *all* the Departments. This was above Canning's *calibre*, and what threw out Ld. Chatham in 1761, in the zenith of his glory. We talked of the difficulties of the approaching session. Ld. M. said we must all fight, and might be killed, but would die with honour.

Lord Palmerston came to town, sent for by Perceval. He was so good as to confide to me that three things were offered to him, the Chancellorship of the Exchequer,* Secretaryship at War, or a seat at the Treasury, by way of introduction to the Seals, if he was afraid of entering upon them at once. These offers were, however, in the alternative of there being any of them declined by Milnes (member for Pomfret), to whom they were made in the first instance. Ld. P. consulted me very frankly upon them, and asked if I thought he would be equal to the Seals either in Cabinet or Parliament, particularly the latter, where

* *Original Note.*—It seems this intended separation of the Chancellorship of the Exchequer from the First Lord of the Treasury, both now in Perceval's own person, arises from his wish to have more leisure to attend to the great and general views of Government, than he would have if confined to superintend the detail of the finance at the same time. The advantage in debate which this would give him would certainly be very great, not to mention the room it will make for another Cabinet minister in the House, critical in the present posture of things.

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he had barely made his debut. I told him, and was most sincere, that in common with all his friends whom I had ever heard speak on the subject, I thought him quite equal to them in point of capacity, but as to nerves in Parliament (of which he seemed most to doubt), nobody could judge but himself. He said Petty (whom I had mentioned), had come forward after having felt his way and got possession of himself in the House, and that if he had done the same, he, perhaps, would not hesitate. As it was, he inclined to the second place, but had written to Ld. Malmesbury. We walked up to Hyde Park discussing the subject. Among other topics which I urged, one seemed to impress him much, which was, the great difference there would be in his situation and pretensions upon a return to office, in the event of our going out, if he retired as a Cabinet minister instead of a subordinate capacity. He allowed it much flattered his ambition, but feared the prejudice it would occasion to his own reputation and the interest of his friends if he failed. I left him inclining to the Secretary at War, and admired his prudence, as I have long done the talents and excellent understanding, as well as the many other good qualities as well as accomplishments, of this very fine young man.*

Dined at Ld. Mulgrave's. Nobody but the General. There is a hitch, it seems, as to Dundas taking

* This "fine young man" has, it need hardly be remarked, amply realised the favourable expectations of one who had had good opportunity of marking the development of his rising talents.

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the Seals, who is forbidden by his father. The thing, however, is still pending. Where will this end? Canning is angry with Pole for choosing not to follow him. This is the very height of arrogance, for Pole was never in a situation to look to him for anything, and he must have founded this foolish pretension upon ideas of his own importance, in which he must, at least by this time, be undeceived. Ld. M. told me he intended, in concert with Perceval, to offer Ld. Palmerston's place at the board to Ld. Percy. I own I thought Ld. P. would think the Admiralty too little, particularly when the Treasury was open.

October 18*th.* — Lord Palmerston told me he had declined the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, but was ready to take the place of Secretary at War, if the person it now was with declined. This he did from his diffidence, for which he said, in the situation of Chancellor there was no room, as if he failed he must ruin himself and friends too, past recovery. I told him as before, that, as it was a question of nerves, he alone could decide — in any thing and every thing *but* nerves, his friends had no doubt. He said it was very gratifying to him to find such an opinion of him.

Saw Arbuthnot at the Treasury, to whom I related Lord M.'s intention to offer the Admiralty to Lord Percy. He agreed with me in thinking it would be taken as an affront instead of an attention by the Duke, who was the proudest man in England, and I begged him to suggest to Perceval the propriety of offering the Treasury. Nothing is decided

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for or against as to Wharton. Vansittart has refused, and Perceval is in no hurry, as Huskisson himself would not have been in town the whole summer. I mentioned Lushington's hope that we should be firm. He said, Lushington was thought of for place, and both of us agreed he would be very fit.

October 19th. — Received a letter from Lord Lonsdale pretty plainly developing his sentiments upon Canning's statement, Lord Wellesley, Lord Sidmouth, and Lord Melville. He says, C.'s statement leaves "the most important part of the question just where he began with it, and his friends will have a difficult task assigned them if they are to supply what is wanting." Lord Wellesley, he thinks, must share his fortunes: "if he should determine otherwise," says he, "you will have the advantage of seeing an important office very ably filled, but I do not think his accession will add much numerical strength. If that is so, the question of communicating with Lord Sidmouth is as urgent as ever. On that point I see no reason to alter my opinion. His friends in the House of Commons are not a sufficient object to look to, and what strength can compensate for the loss of character the Government would sustain? The most it would effect, would be to carry a question at the outset with a better show of numbers, but I am not sure you would not lose as much as you would gain. I can enter a good deal into what you have said on former occasions respecting Lord Melville, but I can see no reason for listening to a clamour, which is as unjust as it is unfounded. His talents for business

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and his habits would render him a most powerful assistant to any Government, and I shall regret if there is any obstacle to his being employed. Sir Francis and the Reformers might rail, but I cannot help thinking that the Government would acquire a weight in the country, which the accession of such powerful talents must always afford."

As to Canning, Lord L. said, "that his own defence as published is very insufficient, as far even as it relates to the point to which it is immediately directed, because there is scarcely any distinction in moral guilt between the person acquiescing in or conniving at an improper transaction and the person performing it. Any opinion favourable to Canning will not make much progress by the assistance of this paper."

I thought Lord Lonsdale's letter of sufficient importance to show to Perceval, on whom I called. Found with him Lord Liverpool and Arbuthnot waiting a Cabinet. He took my visit well, and entered into the subject of a junction both with Lord Melville and Lord Sidmouth. As to the first, he said he would show me what had past between them on the point; and, as to the last, it was not at present sufficiently ripe to think of: but he owned himself wanting in the information which other gentlemen must have, when they talked (alluding to Lord Lonsdale's expressions) of his having given abundant proofs of duplicity and falsehood, and asked if I knew what was meant. I told him, I supposed his treatment of Mr. Pitt, when he broke up his Government, on Lord

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Melville's impeachment. Lord Liverpool laughed, and said that this was a mistake; that Lord Sidmouth was not a man of falsehood, though he might be a man of folly; that his ruling passion was vanity; that vanity, and regret at having missed all the popularity which he would have acquired in consequence of the discoveries against Lord Melville (which was his work), and which made him often intimate to Mr. Pitt what he renounced by joining him,—all this combined to make him take the part he did. However, Perceval said it was not necessary to discuss this at present, because things had not yet brought them to that point. He did not seem to agree with Lord Lonsdale on the subject of Lord Melville's introduction to the Cabinet; that its effect would be counterbalanced by the advantage; and put two very important letters into my hand, which had passed between them, and which he desired me to take home with me. They are as follows; and I agree with him in every line of his opinion. In fact, scarce any of the public men I see give the smallest, not to say much, weight to the jacobinical spirit which rages unrepressed, from the criminal timidity which complains of it, but suffers it with impunity. There is scarcely a paper in any little tradesman or labourer's hands of a Sunday that is not big with sedition. The effect of this continual dropping must wear away a rock. The country gentlemen, if not Jacobins, are at least reformers, and Utopian reformers; and I can judge, from what I have often felt myself upon measures I have disapproved, how difficult it must be to guide

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the public mind into measures of even much practical good.

Copy of a Letter from Mr. Perceval to Lord Melville.

"Downing Street, Oct. 5.

"My dear Lord,

"Your son has apprised your Lordship of all the untoward and distressful circumstances which have led to the divisions and separations amongst our friends in Administration, upon the occasion of the Duke of Portland's retirement from office. He has also told your Lordship of the advice which was given to His Majesty by his remaining servants, to endeavour to procure the joint co-operation of our political adversaries in a new Administration; and probably, by this time, his history has brought the events down to the period of their absolute rejection of our proposal upon objections in principle to any union with His Majesty's present servants; and especially, as Lord Grenville states it, on account of what he pleases to call the principle of our Government, and the manner of its appointment. This objection is but too intelligible. We had hoped that all allusion to the Catholic question might have been spared, and that the King, whom we, who formed his Government under the Duke of Portland, are bound upon every principle of consistency of character and conduct to defend against the renewed agitation of that question as a measure of Government, might have been afforded our protection in the best and least exceptionable manner, by our forming such a substantive part of

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the new Government as might prevent the probability of that question being brought forward by that Government. All idea of requiring a pledge from them was obviously absurd, and it was impossible, after what had passed, to propose it; and the King was at last prevailed upon, though reluctantly, to be contented with this sort of implied practical security, without any thought of requiring a word from them which might be misconstrued as a pledge. But the manner in which Lord Grenville, most unadvisedly, as it appears to me, has referred to the *principle* of our Government, has shown that he will not be contented to accept of the sort of retreat from that question which this overture had prepared for him, but, on the contrary, has again brought it forward in a way not only to preclude the possibility of our negotiation with him going on, but so as to confirm the King in all his alarms, that if his Lordship should return to power he would again harass the mind of his Majesty with the renewal of it. And in the event of the King's being driven by the sense of Parliament to look to his Lordship, as the instrument of forming a new Government alone, there is no knowing what the effect of it may be upon his Majesty's mind. Under these circumstances it is that the King has called upon me to do my best for him in supplying the place of the Duke of Portland, and in forming an arrangement for his Government. In the execution of that command, the endeavour to acquire strength (strength not only of talent and of character, but most essentially of numbers) by all justifiable means,

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is, I am sure your Lordship will agree with me, necessarily my paramount duty. The first step which I have taken in the pursuit of that object, has been by prevailing upon your son to permit me to recommend him to the King, as the successor of Lord Castlereagh in the Colonial Office. If I were writing to any one else but your Lordship, it should not be in a few sentences that I could express my grateful sense of his conduct on this very trying and embarrassing occasion. His line has been plain, straightforward, open, manly, and honourable in every possible respect. He had no disguise with me: he gave me a test of his sincerity (which, indeed, was not wanting, but which was most satisfactory, because it was most conclusive), by telling me plainly that his earlier, his more natural, his preferable connection and predilection, was with Canning rather than with me; that his sense of the weakness of the Government was such, that he would not act in a Government to be formed by either of us without some attempt to procure assistance from external strength. As to official situation, he could at first say nothing till he had learned your Lordship's sentiments; but he tells me now that he has the full means of anticipating them, and therefore he has returned to Ireland for a week only, having left me empowered to mention him to the King as Secretary of State for the Colonies. In pursuit of the same object, my next step, or rather the step which I should have taken at the same moment, would have been to have entreated your Lordship to have accepted some

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office among us, if I had felt myself at liberty to have acted either upon my feelings of personal regard for your Lordship, or upon consideration of your Lordship's high, distinguished, and commanding abilities. Whether a seat at the Cabinet, with any office, would have been made acceptable to your Lordship, I know not; but from the satisfactory assurances which I have received from your son, of your determination to support us in our present difficulties, I do flatter myself that there are no other considerations than those which create my own difficulties, which would lead your Lordship to hesitate in giving us your most effective assistance in that situation. In alluding to the difficulties which have prevented me from following the clear dictates of my understanding and inclination on this point, I feel that I am approaching a topic of the greatest possible *delicacy* as well as difficulty; but it is impossible for me not to inform your Lordship of the motives which govern me. I should feel that, after what I have heard from your son, of the most gratuitous and most honourable determination to support the King in his present difficulties, it would be an unpardonable slight to your Lordship on my part, and must be felt so by you, if I did not either endeavour to avail myself of your Lordship's assistance in office, or frankly and freely expose to you the impediments which prevent me at the present moment; and I am confident I can only hope to do it in a manner acceptable to your Lordship, by doing it without the least reserve. I feel that I require all your Lordship's indulgence;

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but craving it on the ground of my very peculiar situation at this moment, I throw myself on your Lordship's candour for a favourable interpretation of my motives and reasons, which I now proceed to state.

" Our party's strength, dismembered as we are by Canning's and Castlereagh's separation from us, and from the following (more or less considerable) of their respective friends, has lost its principle of cohesion. We are no longer the sole representatives of Mr. Pitt. The magic of that name is in a great degree dissolved, and the principle upon which we must most rely to keep us together, and to give us the assistance of floating strength, is the public sentiment of loyalty and attachment to the King. Amongst the independent part of the House, the country gentlemen, the representatives of popular boroughs, *we must find our saving strength or our destruction.* Your Lordship knows how strong and deep as well as how unjust an impression was made upon this description of persons, what a frenzy was excited in their minds by the question which Mr. Whitbread raised against your Lordship. That that frenzy is wearing out, I confidently hope and am ready to believe; but I should be deceiving your Lordship as well as myself if I were to represent it as any thing like *extinct*, and my fears are that it might, and my conviction (most reluctantly formed) is that it would, by your enemies, by our enemies, by the King's enemies, be revived at this moment to the prejudice of us all upon your present return to power. I know that

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there would be to be set against this your Lordship's character, as a manly, enlightened, and experienced statesman. I know that the mere determination to brave such unjust prejudices would in some quarters do us credit and acquire us friends; and if, in addition to these circumstances, we could have had the influence and power of your Lordship's eloquence where we most want it, in the H. of Commons, I think they might there counterbalance the other considerations. But the H. of C. is the place of difficulty, and the scene where the decisive battles must be fought, and where our fate must be decided. It is there that the considerations connected with popular prejudice must have the greatest weight. Our first burst will be our severest trial; if we can but carry a fair cry out of doors with us at first, we may hope to stand and serve the country, and it is the impression which may be made to damp or divert that first sentiment which the King's cause and name will create, that I own alarms me.

"I have now, my Lord, laid my mind open to your Lordship without reserve, and with a frankness which, however it might offend other men, is, if I do not deceive myself, so congenial to your Lordship's character, that I think that your Lordship, seeing the justification of it in the importance of the occasion, will not only forgive, but approve it. And I must therefore add, that under these circumstances, and with these impressions, though your Lordship may ascribe it to unworthy timidity on my part, I do not feel the courage to risk the existence of his Majesty's

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present Government, with the deep interests (affecting his Majesty and the country) which are involved in its fate, by exposing it to the danger of that popular impression, which your Lordship's return to power might be the occasion of creating, and which, if it were so created, would infallibly produce our destruction. I must fairly own to your Lordship, that when I first determined to write to you thus fully upon this subject, I had intended, after I had opened my mind fully and distinctly to you, to have concluded by leaving the difficult and embarrassing question entirely to your Lordship's own decision; but upon duly weighing what I had written with this view, I found that this course was not consistent with the frankness which it affected. It was placing your Lordship in the most embarrassing of all situations to a delicate mind, by leaving you to determine on a point, materially affecting others as well as yourself, either against the evident bias and judgment of the person who submitted it to your decision, or against yourself. I found that it might have appeared to have been attempting to shelter a decision which your Lordship's delicacy would, under such circumstances, have infallibly made upon my difficulties against yourself. It would, therefore, have been in effect *my* decision, under the appearance of being either your Lordship's own unbiassed act, or at least, as sanctioned by your own deliberate advice. But I assure your Lordship that these objections only go to your accepting office at the present moment. They do not, in my judgment, stand in the way of his Majesty's gracious

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disposition to mark his sense of your distinguished services, and your unwearied attachment and zeal for his Crown and Government, in any other manner which might be made acceptable to your Lordship; and I have, therefore, great satisfaction in acquainting your Lordship, that I did yesterday receive his Majesty's commands to convey to you, in the most unqualified and gracious terms, his Majesty's deep and unalterable impression of the value of those services, and his firm conviction of that unvaried attachment and zeal, as well as his high sense of this new proof of them. And at the same time to state to your Lordship, that his Majesty is desirous of embracing this opportunity of marking to the world his sense of them, by raising your Lordship in the rank of the peerage to the dignity of an Earldom of his kingdom. I need hardly state to your Lordship that I shall, till I receive your Lordship's answer to this letter, remain in great anxiety to learn from your Lordship that you enter into the real motives which dictate it; perhaps the first letter of the kind that was ever written with such unreserve and frankness, from a person in any situation to one in your Lordship's. Whatever may be your feeling upon this letter, I think I may rest assured that your Lordship must see in it the strongest proof of my conviction, that to your Lordship's open and manly mind, frankness and unreserve are the only acceptable modes of communication. And I trust your Lordship will also see, however much you may doubt the propriety of my judgment, however much you may be disposed to condemn it, as marked by

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an unworthy and pusillanimous deference to popular prejudice and anticipated clamour, yet that it is most reluctantly formed, after deep and painful consideration of all the difficulties of this case, and upon grounds and motives which are perfectly consistent with that true regard and esteem with which, upon private considerations as well as public,

"I am, my dear Lord, &c. &c.

"S. PERCEVAL."

With all the regard which I entertain for Mr. Perceval's character and talents, I must confess that, so far from agreeing in Mr. Ward's description of the feregoing communication as "Perceval's admirable letter," it appears to me to do more credit to his frankness than to his judgment, or knowledge of the world.

It could hardly be necessary to explain to a person in Lord Melville's position the reasons which must make a Minister pause before taking him into a newly formed Cabinet, in the face of a formidable opposition. But if such an explanation was to be made, I fear it could hardly be clothed in more injudicious, I had almost said more offensive, terms. Mr. Perceval was guided by too candid and truthful a spirit to be able to write down one word with respect to Lord Melville's character, which he did not feel to the fullest extent. Hence an explanation, such as is here conveyed, must have proved necessarily more offensive than any unexplained omission. With a simplicity of truth, which could conceal no part of his

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motives, he describes successively the depth of necessity to which his Administration was reduced; his application for aid to Lord Melville's bitterest enemies, and their refusal; and further shows that even in these straits the admission of his Lordship into the Cabinet would risk its existence; he concludes by making a proposal to Lord Melville of an advancement in the peerage, which after such a letter he must have been unworthy of his title if he had not at once refused, while if he had accepted it, it would have drawn upon Perceval the opprobrium of the country gentlemen, he so much dreaded, without gaining for him the eloquent support in the House of Commons of which he stood in need.

After passing this judgment upon the letter, I cannot help thinking that the conduct and language of Lord Melville in his reply, though the letter was sufficiently meaning, were as little hostile as Mr. Perceval could have expected.

Lord Melville to Mr. Perceval.

"Amiston, Oct. 8. 1809.

"My dear Sir,

"I return you my cordial and unfeigned thanks for the candour of the statements contained in your letter of the 5th inst., which I have this moment received. I have experienced so little of a similar spirit for these three years past, [that] I put a greater value upon it when it makes its appearance. If it be any satisfaction to you to know, I can assure you

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with great truth, that a return to office would not have afforded any personal gratification to me. I hazard nothing in making this distinct assertion, because there are more than one amongst your colleagues to whom I have had occasion to make the same communication repeatedly in the course of these three last years. At the same time I have never disguised from any person, that if by resuming my official habits I could have gratified any wish of His Majesty, or render any essential service to my country, I should not have felt myself at liberty to entertain a moment's hesitation. It would be an idle waste of your time, and I am sure you will not expect me, to enter into any minute discussion of the topics treated of in your letter. I would not act with a candour corresponding with yours, if I was to admit that the reasoning on which you found your conclusion was either true in fact, or wise in policy; but it will be a very great consolation to me if this shall be the *last concession* you shall find it necessary to make to the description of people whose feelings in the present instance you have thought it expedient to consult.* I have industriously avoided any such discussions; but with the impressions you feel, and the opinions you entertain, you would have ill discharged the duties you have undertaken to discharge, if you had followed any other course with regard to me than that which you have adopted. I trust you will lay me at the feet of his Majesty with every expression of duty, and while I decline the additional honours intended for me, I am

* [*Author's Note.*—What! the country gentlemen?]

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nevertheless deeply sensible of the condescending goodness with which his Majesty is graciously pleased to recollect the services of an old and faithful servant.

"I am, my dear Sir, with every sentiment of personal regard and good will,

"Yours, very truly,

"MELVILLE."

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CHAP. XI.

DIARY CONTINUED. — DISCUSSIONS UPON LORD CHATHAM'S CONDUCT. — DIARY INTERRUPTED. — LETTERS FROM LORD LONSDALE.

Oct. 21st. — WROTE to Lord Lonsdale in answer to his of the 16th, of which the following is what concerns politics.

"*Private.* — Your letter, my dear Lord, was most interesting, as all your letters are when they contain your sentiments at any length upon any subject, but most particularly on matters of such interest as those which at present occupy us all.

"What your Lordship says of Canning's statement is confirmed by the general, I may say the universal, impression here, which is so strongly adverse, that there is a hint now started by some of his followers that it is not his own, but drawn up and *left short* by his officious friends. At least, this was given out at the Royal Society Dinner, on Thursday, by Home, his surgeon, who said in terms, that from his frequent and very late conversations with Canning he might venture to say so. He added, that Canning meant to publish the real case, with all the original letters, which he supposes will effectually perform what the statement has failed to do. I need not point out to your Lordship how improbable this account

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of Home's is*, and how irreconcilable with the internal evidence of the statement itself. But Ld. Liverpool, to whom I mentioned this, put the matter out of doubt, by observing that the statement was word for word the same with that delivered to the King by Canning himself, and which he (Ld. L.) had seen before it was in print. Ld. Liverpool seemed however a little afraid of the publication of the Duke's letters, because he suspected that from the weak state in which his mind as well as body had for some time been, and also from his good natural wish to prevent anything unpleasant or abrupt he might have hazarded many things with regard to his colleagues for which he had no sort of authority. Ld. Liverpool founded this upon a specific report which Canning had made to him of one particular letter, in which the Duke observed that Ld. Camden concurred with Canning in the necessity of displacing Ld. Castlereagh after the session, which Ld. Camden utterly denies. It is unfortunate, too, that the Duke kept no copies of his letters. I should add that the reason given by Home for the delay on the part of Canning in the publication of the letters, was, the very doubtful state of the Duke's health, who, indeed, I am sorry to inform your Lordship, is considered as irrecoverable, although there was last night a gleam of improvement.

* Mr. Canning published a final statement in the form of a letter, dated Nov. 14th, addressed to Lord Camden. It will be found under the head "Public Papers," at p. 307. of the New Annnal Register for 1809.

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"With respect to those parts of your Lordship's letter which relate to Ld. Melville and Ld. Sidmouth, I thought them so important, that knowing you did not mean to conceal those opinions upon those points, I showed nearly the whole letter to Perceval in private, in which I only hope I did nothing improper. Indeed, a letter which your Lordship wrote to Ld. Melville upon this part of the subject has been transmitted to his son, who of course has shown it to the Ministry. Your Lordship knows how entirely (not merely one so unimportant as myself but) all persons concur with you in the opinion of Ld. Melville's talents as well as influence; and on the necessity there is for the accession both of talents and influence — wherever they can be found. But, I own I tremble, in common with many others, at the effect which his introduction to the Cabinet would have upon — what Perceval calls the *floating strength* of the House, and which in this very critical time will infallibly decide upon the life or death of the Ministry. You are apprised of the new difficulties in which the latter feel plunged by the unexpected turn which Ld. Melville's conduct has taken, and which at least seems little reconcilable with the resolute patriotism as well as professions of indifference to office which marked it at first. All are at a loss to understand how compatible his direct claim to office now is with the profession which he unqualifiedly made in answer to Perceval's admirable letter to him; by which he disclaimed all personal wish upon the matter, and only felt ready to assume it upon the

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command of the King. Mr. Perceval was so good as to show me both these letters; and I own I know not how to understand either the patriotism or the consistency of Ld. Melville in preventing his son from giving his aid, and of course in withdrawing his own aid from a Government in which he professed not to be desirous of taking any part, except with a view to the King's service and his country's welfare. The true key to this embarrassing conduct, as it is felt here, is that he thinks this the only opportunity he will ever command of completely wiping off the impression of his case, which, though your Lordship's opinion is most just in thinking it most ill founded, is nevertheless *an impression*. How this however can be done without rescinding the resolution of the House is not so easy to comprehend; not so easy, I fear, as it is to foresee what the event would be of the attempt to rescind it. Your Lordship is a far better judge, but I own I cannot help thinking with those who believe that such an attempt would certainly fail, and therefore as certainly cause our destruction. I learn that Mr. Perceval's opinions, as stated in his honest and candid letter before alluded to, are by no means changed by this procedure of Ld. Melville, and if so, as there is no doubt of the personal consequence of Dundas and of the influence of his father, your Lordship will perhaps think that there is an end of the whole attempt to rally round the King, and make the stand so honourably proposed. Believe me, my dear Ld., I regret the inconvenient length into which this important subject

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has betrayed me. But not only I have not avoided it from the confidence with which you are kind enough to enter upon these matters, but I am not unnaturally anxious to lay the whole before you, on account of what I am told Ld. Melville gives out to the Ministry, that you and the D. of Buccleugh are his *chief connections*. As one who feels devoted to you by every tie, it is therefore, as I hope you will think, not surprising that I should be desirous of stating everything that I am told on the subject.

"As to Ld. Sidmouth, should Ld. Melville withdraw his support, I cannot help thinking (as indeed your Lordship seems to think) he will be next in contemplation; and knowing as I do all your feelings in regard to him, it becomes of more consequence than ever to ascertain one's probable conduct both in regard to him and to Ld. Melville. But I am so shocked at the length of this letter that I am afraid to add a line to your trouble, and must rely upon the favour you have always shown me to excuse that I have already given. We have got no news of Ld. Wellesley—another most critical point altogether at present in obscurity. Under all these difficulties Perceval is particularly calm, collected, and open.

"I am, &c.

"Your Lordship has perhaps not heard that Perceval wishes to divide his two offices of 1st Ld. and Chancellor, in order to have more leisure for the general business of Government, while the Chancellor of the Exchequer represents the finance. For this

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purpose he has offered the latter to young Milnes, whose answer is not come. This, if you please, to your most private ear."

To Lord Lonsdale.

"Admiralty, Oct. 24. 1809.

"My dear Lord,

"I don't know whether you will agree with me in thinking that Milnes's refusal to come into office (which is his final decision) is to be lamented as much as I cannot help lamenting it. I do own my concern is increased by finding that such is the dearth of men of weight in the world ready to lend their assistance to Perceval, that he seems fixed in offering, or rather has offered, the Chancellorship to Rose, who means not to decline. Of his abilities, as far as the King's service is concerned, there can be no doubt; but whether he will go down with the nation at large, and in particular in the House, is, I think, a fearful question. *Non tali auxilio.* The spirits of men seem either fermenting in discontent, or deadened to all feeling of interest about *any* Government; and the time is therefore such as peculiarly to require the advance to power of men of popularity and personal consequence, —which Rose, with all his merits, surely wants: perhaps I might say, the reverse of which, in point of fact (though very unjustly), more certainly belongs to him. I do confess (if your Lordship will allow me to trouble you with my confessions) that with Lord Melville and Rose in the Cabinet, I see no hope whatever of a

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Government that would satisfy the nation, although the public business would be perhaps the best consulted by their appointment. In fact, the times are sadly out of joint, and it is difficult to say who are to set them right; for so strange are they, that Perceval, who probably combines more honesty with more ability than any other man alive in his own person, is not equal to it alone, so completely have the *disadvantageous* parts of our mixed constitution got uppermost in the course of our miserable struggles. As I profess to give your Lordship the news of the streets as well as of office, I cannot help winding up my croaking with the next question before the Robin Hood Society, at which all the mob-leaders preside. It is, whether the jubilee is to be considered as a mark of gratitude to the King for benefits he may have conferred, &c. &c., or "a rash and ill-timed experiment upon the feeling of the nation, tending to aggravate the discontent already too prevalent, and spread division throughout the Empire?" The last part is verbatim, as it is placarded all over the streets; and the verdict (no doubt against the King) will be placarded as publicly next week, to work as it may. My City friends tell me that a blunted indifference seems to prevail in regard to *all* Administrations; and Jacobinism, therefore, has free scope where it formerly was most opposed. Though Milnes has refused office, the effect of his interviews with Perceval has been to promise all possible support to his Government, and this after begging to see Canning, in consequence of their intimacy together, and a full

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hearing of his case on his own representation. If Rose takes the Seals, Lord Palmerston tells me he will probably succeed him as Treasurer of the Navy. I wish him every good; and his talents, when he gets over his nervousness about speaking, must give the most effectual support. I understand Vansittart was offered to be Chancellor of the Exchequer, but refused all junction without Lord Sidmouth. In all this embarrassment, those who know Lord Melville's first offers of support are not disposed to be grateful to him; and under these adverse circumstances, the *sense* of obeying the call of duty to the King and honour to confederates is what alone can make office, I will not say agreeable, but bearable.

"R. W."

Oct. 24th.—Dined with Ld. M. and with him alone till eleven. He thought that we could not stand. Lamented Milnes's want of confidence in himself, which, if it had been otherwise, by bringing forward Ryder, the Treasury bench might be well filled. Dundas, as had been expected, finally refused, forced to it by his father. His first professions were evidently a cloak. Had it not been for these, as Ld. M. observed, there might have been a pretence for saying to his son, "You ought not to be where I am thought unworthy to enter." But after all his pretensions to indifference to every thing but the support of the King against those who had deserted him*, to be the

* It is difficult to say how a refusal to take office with, and even under, a Minister whose political opinions they did not share, can be considered

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promoter and cause of fresh desertion, is too flagrant to bear examination—it is another proof of the total want of any thing but self in the acts of public men. Ld. M. agreed in thinking the appointment of Rose would be considered as a sign of weakness, useful as he might be. He believes the Doctor must now be tried; but thinks it too late, as Ld. Grenville is supposed to have preoccupied the ground. At least, Ld. Sidmouth gives out that Ld. Grenville mistook the nature of the message; and that if he had rightly understood it, a union might have been effected; which is looked upon as if there was confidence between them. I suppose, however, he will be tired; but, whether he comes in or no, I see little chance of standing; and nothing would keep me up amid so much hypocrisy, plots, and counterplots, except the excellent clear character of Perceval, and the idea of fulfilling a great duty of loyalty as long as he thinks it can be fulfilled. For my own part, I long for retirement; and only hope, if we are out, that we may not imitate the Greys and Grenvilles in their unprincipled opposition, to the endangerment of the State, and still less the plotters who have destroyed their party, and with them the power of defending him they had sworn to defend.

Oct. 25th.—Ld. Lowther called upon me to-day to say, Perceval had asked him to move the address, to which he did not feel inclined; but for no other motive than because, when at Flushing, with the expe-

a "desertion" of the King, more especially considering the mode in which their former tenure of office had been interrupted.

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dition, he saw such proofs of Ld. Chatham's dilatoriness and sloth, that he would not pledge himself to vote his exculpation, still less to vote for him at the expense of Strachan. He said Strachan had urged him, by every consideration, to mask Flushing with 10,000 men and the flotilla, and that he would engage to get round the island, either by the West or East Scheldt, and land the rest of the army, 25,000 strong, near Antwerp; but Ld. Chatham said drawlingly, we had better wait two or three days to see what would come of this first. Those two or three days were decisive of the whole business. I asked if he was certain his moving the address would pledge him to approve of Ld. C.'s conduct; and advised his opening himself to Perceval, who would tell him frankly. He is to dine with him at Ealing to-morrow, with Ld. Palmerston and Mills, and said he would endeavour to do it. Ld. Palmerston is certainly to be Secretary at War. Amongst other things, Ld. Lowther talked of Ld. Melville's conduct, which he at first seemed disposed to justify, saying, after Perceval's letter one could be surprised at nothing. He afterwards came round, and agreed that Ld. M. was quite inconsistent with his own professions, and that his introduction to the Cabinet would destroy or risk the destruction of the whole Ministry; but asked why the letter was to be written at all, or the thing not left where it was? Ld. Mulgrave told me that it was written at Dundas's express desire, who, no doubt, knew his father's wishes would not be satisfied without an explanation, which Perceval's honesty has thus given him, perhaps

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at the hazard of his power. . . . . Ld. Lowther lamented Milnes had not taken office.

Went out to see the preparations for the jubilee illuminations, and met Tierney. He denied altogether that any treaty, or anything like it, had been made by Canning to join the opposition.

Perceval announced Ld. Palmerston Secretary at War after the dinner at Merchant Tailors' Hall.

Oct 26th.— . . . . . Ld. G. Levison sent a civil letter to Ld. Palmerston, offering, if convenient, to introduce him to the gentlemen of the War Office immediately. He went; and I have only to hope that Ld. Lowther may replace him at the Admiralty. Met Tierney again, who said he would not dine at Merchant Tailors' yesterday, because he did not acknowledge the authority of merchants and bankers to give a public dinner. They were not legitimate. The Corporation was the true authority. If Mr. Long wished him to dine with him he might ask him to his own house. I asked why merchants and bankers might not associate as well as country gentlemen at the St. Alban's. In fact, this was mere party—the Corporation, at least the Common Council, were for Tierney's friends; the merchants and bankers for Mr. Pitt and his friends. Called upon Ld. Lowther, and urged him again to come to a frank explanation with Perceval about the address.

Dined with Ld. Mulgrave; he had some curious conversation with Sheridan yesterday at the City dinner. Sheridan was afraid of the Jacobins, and complained that the desire of popular applause in-

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duced some of his party's best young men to join them, and that their strength made the struggle of the two parties dangerous. Talking of the negotiation, Ld. M. said Ld. Grey had been more discreet than Ld. Grenville, though less respectful to the King, and that the latter had been forced to put his refusal on wrong grounds. Sheridan wished the junction could have been made in order to put down the Jacobins; but it could not be as offered, because the two Lds. might and would have wished to see the King together. Ld. M. said that was the least of the difficulty, for there could have been no reason why they should not have seen the King when they pleased; nay more, he added, there was not one of us that would not have gone out of office if our resignation would have been necessary to strengthen the Government against Jacobinism, and I would have been the first to have yielded mine, and have gone happy to Mulgrave in the thought that I could have contributed to an event so desirable. As it is (continuing to address Sheridan) you would not now, could you come in, be able to make a Government of yourselves against the democratic party you fear. *We* may, perhaps, with the King heartily with us, but the opportunity of making the strongest is lost. They then talked of Lord —— whom both knew, and in discussing the apparent rashness of his conduct in undoing all the good that Harford Jones had done in person, Sheridan let out a strange anecdote, not merely of him, but of all his friends during the Regency question in 1789. Such was the violence it seems of those times, that at

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a meeting at Burlington House, Burke had proposed to keep the King from returning to power even if he had recovered his health. Strange to say, so treasonable a question, instead of being rejected by a common and instantaneous feeling, was allowed to be discussed, and almost stranger still, Ld. —— was the only man at the meeting who sided with Burke in recommending it. Sheridan mentioned it to show that, with all his softness of demeanour, when wrong he could be most violently so.

Oct. 29th. — The poor Duke of Portland died at five o'clock this afternoon. He suffered the operation of cutting for the stone about three, and all was safe and well over, a very large and jagged stone, but perfectly whole, having been extracted. But when the best hopes were conceived, an epilepsy came on which killed him.

Heard from Ld. Lonsdale (dated 26th), who desired, if I pleased, that I would show his last letter to Perceval. With regard to Ld. Melville, he feared the rejection of him arose from the dangerous system of *concession*. Wished me to know from himself what I was to believe of the different reports that were circulated as to his opinions of, and connection with him. Did not see the value of Milnes, as I did, from his total want of steadiness, and could not be sorry for his not coming in. Hopes Dundas may yet take the War Department.

Ld. Palmerston told me to-day, that when he took the War Office, Perceval offered him the Cabinet, which, though Lord Malmesbury advised the contrary,

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he declined. He did this it seems from the same modesty which guided his former conduct, a fear that from his inexperience he might not answer expectation, which would hurt both himself and his friends, among whose coadjutors no *failure* could be afforded.

Nov. 1*st.*— Ld. Liverpool, Messrs. Ryder, Dundas, and Manners Sutton, kissed hands for their respective appointments to the War and Home departments, the Board of Control, and the Judge Advocate. The youth of the latter is a little talked of, but he is perhaps old enough, and in every point of knowledge, capacity, birth, and agreeableness to the King, it is a most fit appointment.

In talking over Canning's conduct to Perceval with Arbuthnot this morning, he said that the latter was perfectly sensible that Canning meant to get rid of him, by endeavouring to persuade him to go into the House of Peers. He used these remarkable expressions upon it in Arbuthnot's hearing, "However he attempted to gild and decorate the ornament, I am persuaded that he meant only to put *an extinguisher on my head in the shape of a coronet.*"

Ld. Lowther wrote me from Newmarket that he found that place so pleasant, he hoped to be allowed to remain till Sunday, that he would send his father's answer the moment it arrived. He seems desirous of coming to us.

Nov. 2*nd.*—Heard from Ld. Lonsdale in answer to my letter of the 28th, giving an account of my conversation with Perceval in respect to Lord Melville. He said he thought it easy to convince me I had not taken a correct view of some points. He was glad Rose had

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declined as it would not have done. He entered in a very friendly and flattering manner into what I had hinted as to the Judge Advocate's place; was pleased to say there was no man more fit; that I should push for it and not lose the opportunity, as there was a tide in the affairs of men, adding there could be no obligation which Ld. Mulgrave would lay himself under by pointing out me as one properly qualified, &c. &c. It is too late; but my great regard and esteem for him, who is plainness and sincerity themselves, made me highly gratified by such a letter. Rode with J. W. Ward (Ld. Dudley's son) in the park; he met and turned back with me to have as he said a little scandal. He began with abusing the poor Duke of Portland, whom he called names. He sounded to know if Rose was not Chancellor of the Exchequer, which, thinking it might save some bad language, I denied. He asked how Perceval would come out of all this? I said the more his conduct was known the more his integrity of principle would be manifested. He said there could be no doubt of that, and that he joined in the opinion of all who knew anything of him, that he was a man of most perfect honour and disinterestedness. Pretty well this for him! He said Ld. Francis Spencer was to have the Treasury, which I thought not unlikely, and after a little mutual abuse and civility mixed together we parted.

Dined with Ld. Mulgrave, who showed me a letter from Ld. Lonsdale, in regard to the offer to his son, expressive of great pleasure at it, if it was a mean to take him into business, but only provided he could make up

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his mind upon the Walcheren question, and to do the duty properly. After dinner Ld. M. said he was commissioned by Mr. Perceval to offer me the vacant seat at the Treasury if I thought it an object; which pleased me much, as a mark of the friendship of a man I so much loved and respected as Perceval, but which did not strike me as worth the change, when I considered the house at the Admiralty and my very pleasant colleagues. Ld. M. told me not to consider him or Boards, but to think only whether it was eligible to myself, and to give him an answer the next day.

. . . . . .

There is little doubt that a proposal to separate himself from a chief like Lord Mulgrave, to whom not only relationship but kindred feelings had so long united him, was most unwelcome to Mr. Ward. After having waited like Victorine in the play to "sleep on it," he addressed the following reply to Mr. Perceval.

"Admiralty, Nov. 3. 1809.

"My dear Sir,

"Though always unwilling to take up your time, I cannot bring myself to let Ld. Mulgrave return you a mere answer to the obliging proposition you have had the kindness to make me. I do assure you the sentiment that was uppermost with me when I considered it, was the pleasure of reflecting that you believed me worth thinking of at all, much more for a situation which would throw me so near you. I certainly am most open to the gratification it would always bring

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me to belong in some measure to the man who had always had my sincere regard, and whom, for his pure conduct throughout the late affairs, of all men alive I can safely say I most respect. Ld. Mulgrave has told you that if I conceived your proposal to be founded upon a supposition that I could be of more service at the Treasury than here, I should hold it my duty to change if even the situation was worse than my own; but that I understand from him that you kindly meant it as a personal advantage to me*, upon which I was to exercise my discretion. It would be very great affectation to say I had any right to refuse any personal advantage that could be offered me, and if I felt it to be one in amount, or if with even less amount, it would have taken me out of the uncomfortable situation of a pensioner, I should have been most glad to have reaped that benefit, and to have been so near you at the same time, but feeling that with the house here the situations were scarcely different, and that I had got pretty well into train where I am, I was prompted gratefully to decline your offer. I will only add, that if I have mistaken Ld. Mulgrave in understanding it was meant as a benefit, and that it is wished on any ground of service, I shall be most happy to obey that wish in a manner so agreeable to my inclinations as acting under *you* must always be.

"Believe me,

"Ever and much your obliged,

"R. W."

* It will be seen at page 251., that, in the case of Lord Percy, a seat at the Treasury is spoken of as higher in political rank than that at the Admiralty.

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The correspondence was closed by the following reply from Mr. Perceval, after which Mr. Ward continued to remain at the Admiralty until he moved to the Ordnance office.

Rt. Hon. S. Perceval to R. Ward, Esq.

"Downing Street, Nov. 3. 1809.

"Dear Ward,

"I perfectly understand your reason for declining before, and I perfectly understand now your wish to recall that refusal, lest I should suspect you of an unworthy and improper regard to your own convenience instead of the convenience of the Government. I assure you I had no such feeling and no such suspicion, and I am only anxious that in keeping you to your *refusal* you should not misunderstand me, as if I thought I was withholding from you a situation which you preferred. This I am sure is not the *case*, and not being the case, even the trifling circumstance of Barne's being a lawyer as well as yourself, would be sufficient to influence me to keep you to your refusal.

"I feel much obliged to you for this offer, and I am,

"Very truly,

"And faithfully yours,

"S. PERCEVAL."

Wrote to Ld. Lonsdale.

Ld. Wellesley's answer to the *first* message came last night, sent over by Pole from Ireland, who

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thought it so favourable, that he concludes his own letter with huzza! Perceval and Ld. M., however, think that it may not ultimately turn out so decisive, as he has evidently misconstrued the case in his own understanding of it; for he thinks that the *whole Cabinet* proposed him as *First Minister* to Canning, and that the King approved the proposal, but Canning rejected it. This not being so, though in all probability it would have been had it gone on, they think Lord Wellesley, who with these impressions of Canning's conduct agrees to join the Government, may ultimately recede. He says, however (what is very important), that he has no sort of engagement with Canning.

Dined with Ld. M., who hoped the best about Ld. Wellesley*; Lady M. better. Billiards in the evening.

* The following letter, received by Lord Mulgrave a few days afterwards, will best explain Lord Wellesley's feelings and disposition upon accepting office.

"Seville, Oct. 30. 1809.

"My dear Mulgrave,

"I have received your friendly and affectionate letters of the 22nd Sept., and 5th Oct., with the most cordial sentiments of gratitude and satisfaction. You will know from Mr. Perceval that I have obeyed the summons of my sovereign and of my friends, and that I shall enter the King's councils with a firm intention of devoting my exertions to his Majesty's cause. I assure you that the consideration of acting with you is very material to my confidence and comfort, and I hope we may yet be able to effect much good. Nothing can be more grateful to me than the continuance of your good opinion and friendship; if we were not acquainted before, the voyage on which we are now embarked together will probably afford some opportunities of mutual acquaintance. I really feel for your loss in my brother William, you will find it very difficult to replace him.

"Ever, dear Mulgrave,

"Yours, sincerely and affectionately

"WELLESLEY.

"The Donegal having been detained here by Mr. Frere to this time!!!

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Mr. (now Sir Alexander) Johnstone called upon me to talk over the extension of the jurisdiction of Ceylon, on the model of the West India Prize Jurisdictions, which, by Sir W. Scott's Prize Court Act (1801), extended throughout all the West Indies and N. America in common. I asked him if his precise object was to give community of jurisdiction to all the four courts in the E. Indies, — Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, and Ceylon, so that a prize actually in Bombay might be libelled at Ceylon? He said he certainly did, because that was the constitution of the W. India courts, which had been found beneficial; but his chief object was to give power to the Courts when bail could not be given by a neutral who appealed, which subjected him to an immediate sale, to order that sale in any part of India most for the benefit of the contingent owners, which was not now the case. He said he had talked to Sir W. Scott, as I had desired, who approved all his objects, and would be willing to move the bill in Parliament, only that these were times very unfavourable to experiments, and in fact dangerous times. I replied that his last object appeared so unexceptionable, that I should have no objection to bring in the bill myself, if Sir W. Scott was really unwilling, which I could hardly believe; for it was *the being afraid of the times, when the cause*

I mean to return in that ship. I was very much pleased with Capt. Brenton. Sydenham desires me to make particular mention of Pickle Crawford, who returns with this dispatch. I probably shall not sail from Cadiz before the beginning of next week, about the 8th of Nov., as I expect Baron Douro, Πολυούνυμος, of many names, on Wednesday the 1st, at Seville, to confer on sundry villanies of those caitiffs, The Junta."

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was really good, that made the times dangerous. I, however, doubted the necessity, and therefore the reasonableness, of his first object, of giving a common jurisdiction all over India, and thought *that* might be opposed as an unnecessary innovation. He asked why not as well as the West India jurisdictions, and I told him because they were intended really to put down the cloud of little courts all over those colonies, which, by the ignorance or the wickedness of the judges, had caused so much mischief, this being the very object of the bill. This struck him in a new light, and he said he was satisfied, but hoped to carry the other point, which I promised to support. He then opened the subject of Trincomalee as a naval station, much desired by General Maitland, who had charged him to represent it to the Government. I told him we had it already under examination, and I should be glad of all the lights he could give me. He promised to send me his documents, and we parted seemingly to his satisfaction.

Captn. Malcolm called upon us, to say that he had seen a letter from the acting Captn. of the Donegal (Brenton), stating that Ld. Wellesley had written to him on the 17th ult. from Seville, to say he would be with him at Cadiz to sail on the 26th. This shows some empressement to be at home, and as he could not then have seen Sydenham, it must have been on the impressions of the first letters. He will probably meet Sydenham at Cadiz, and upon the whole we think he will come into Government.

Ld. Mulgrave sent for me to show me Ld. Lowther's

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letter to him: it was very manly and open. He said his opinion on the Walcheren expedition was so decidedly adverse to Ld. Chatham, that if expected to vote in his defence, which he supposed would be the case, he must decline the seat at the Board offered him, but if he might be permitted to waive that question, he should be *proud* to take it. He sent also his father's letter to him, which was a very admirable one, desirous all the way through that he should accept, but cautioning him as a duty to Ld. Mulgrave, not to expose him to any difference with Ld. Chatham if he could not make up his mind upon the Walcheren question; desiring him also to consider well whether he could bear the confinement which his duty would require in London, as well as the probable sacrifice of many individual opinions to those of the men whom he must consider as leaders; lastly, that he should assure Ld. Mulgrave that he would only accept the seat until it could be filled more to his satisfaction. Ld. Mulgrave answered Ld. Lowther by thanking him for his great candour, and assured him how much he wished him to come in, but the condition he annexed was so important, that he felt obliged to consult Mr. Perceval upon it, who wished to make a farther communication, with the result of which he would make Ld. Lowther acquainted as soon as known, and hoped it would be favourable, &c. The communication to be made was of course to Ld. Chatham himself, who (said Ld. M. to me) is so proud and sulky, and so out of humour with all his colleagues for not supporting him, as he thinks, enough, but in

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particular with *me* for the publication of Strachan's letter (see Gazette), which he *knows* was not mine, but the express act of the Cabinet, that I should not be surprised if he had a pleasure in making it a Cabinet measure to keep Ld. Lowther out. This he could force the Cabinet to do unless they were prepared to let him resign. If he does, added Ld. M., I must certainly acquaint Ld. Lonsdale with the real cause. Ld. Mulgrave told me Perceval had taken my answer very kindly, that he had not offered me the other Board from any great expectation that I should think it worth my while to change, but because it was generally considered as a promotion from the Admiralty, and he did not wish me to think that what I might possibly have looked to as a promotion, had not been placed at my option.

Wrote to Ld. Lonsdale.

A letter from Lady Selina, reproaching me for having deserted the consistory for a whole week. Wrote her a long account of what had been going forward, and of the chances that her brother might give up the Seals to Ld. Wellesley.

Nov. 6th.—Received a long and amusing letter from Ld. Lonsdale, that * * * was in heroics at the disrespect that had lately been shown him, in consequence of which he had resolved to resign; but was very open to the advice which Ld. L. had given him, not to do so. Ld. L. gave me to understand that, after hearing a great deal of wounded feelings and what honour demanded, all the grievances he could make out resolved themselves into the want of taste

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and penetration in the Government in not seeing his merit; and Ld. L. said it was the hardest thing in the world to know how to tell a man he overrated himself. That he had hinted this to * * * as well as he could, but that he would not take the hint; that he had expressed a wish to attach himself to him (Ld. L.) in politics, but that he had told him, if he found he was not of sufficient consequence in himself, he had better attach himself to somebody else, or (Ld. L. added) he was averse to encouraging any one to connect himself with him in politics, when perhaps it was only for the purpose of obtaining something to which he otherwise could not pretend. Ld. L. begged me to mention this to Perceval, not as recommending anything to be done for * * *, but merely that he might know that one of his Administration was out of humour.

Called upon Perceval, and showed him Ld. L.'s letter. He entered into the subject with his usual frankness; said that he was disposed to rate * * * higher than he knew he was generally rated by the world; that, in fact, he thought well of his talents: to which I sincerely assented, as I did also, however, to what he added, that his temper and want of conciliation were such as made it difficult to place him in a lead; that the very circumstance of his being underrated added, though unjustly, to the difficulty, since so much of the real strength of Government depended upon reputation, whether well or ill founded. He illustrated this by the instance of Ld. Castlereagh, who had very considerable talents, added even to

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great conciliation of manners, but yet whose great want of popularity made it impossible in some people's minds to derive advantage from a junction with him. He laid a stress on *some people's minds*, as if it was not a sentiment of his own, but one to which he had been obliged to defer. * * *, he went on, had no right, however, to complain of any of the late appointments, except, perhaps, that of Ld. Palmerston, who had served so much shorter a time than he; but that, abandoned by a good deal of their old strength, where was the Government to look for assistance except to new quarters, and by bringing forward the young men, who, from their character and respectability, had created expectation? I mentioned what had often been said in Office circles, that * * * felt disappointed at not being at the head of the Control; to which he replied, that, as Dundas took that, it was quite out of the question; but if he had not it would have been equally so, for it was an indefined delicate sort of office, requiring, from that very circumstance, great smoothness and conciliation with the Directors, particularly just as the new Charter was about to be negotiated, which would not perhaps suit so well with * * *'s disposition. With all this, he did not mean to say he ought to have been passed by; and had not M. Sutton taken the Judge-Advocate's place, he had designed it for him, though not a lawyer. But here, again, the place required a person agreeable to the King, which M. Sutton was, in consequence of his family. He hoped, however, that a letter which Dundas had written to him might quiet his discon-

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tent. I then entered on the subject of his own offer to me, and my reasons for declining it, which he took in the very kindest manner, and seemed not aware till then that to me the Treasury was worse than the Admiralty by the whole difference of the house. Nevertheless I offered to come if he put it upon service. He said, if I had come, he meant to have set me to work, but would not think of it now, and, indeed, had put it into another train (it was offered to Ld. Dysart). But he was glad to understand me so well upon it, as far as regarded himself. He then gave me the following, to show to Ld. Mulgrave:—

"Chevely Park, Nov. 6. 1809.

"My dear Sir,

"I lose no time in replying to your letter which I received this morning. The subject of it is certainly a delicate one, and is rendered more difficult by the obscurity of Lord Lonsdale's letter, which does not point at all to what view of the question, as connected with the Walcheren expedition, it is under which he wishes to be allowed to withhold his support. Whether he means the expedition itself, or the conduct of it, he does not explain. If it be the latter, and that it is to the military part of it he alludes, I can only say that, as far as I am concerned, I have not the least wish that any opinions that he may have taken up, and any line he may be desirous in consequence to pursue, should interfere with any general advan-

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tage to be derived to Government by his accepting office.

"Believe me, my dear Sir,
"Yours most truly,
"CHATHAM."

This is a handsome letter, and, it must be owned, what was not expected. Ld. M. sent it immediately to Ld. Lowther, desiring him to come up and take the Board with his own salvo; and I wrote at large to Ld. Lonsdale upon the contents of the letter, stating also my conversation with Perceval upon * * *'s subject.

Ld. M. showed me a letter which he also had this morning from Ld. Lonsdale, urging him very strongly, and in a manner very kind towards me, to recommend my appointment to the Judge-Advocate's place, as a thing very proper, &c. &c.; upon which I was forced to tell Ld. M. my reason for concealing from *him* that it had ever glanced through my mind; viz. that he was the person to whom I should have opened myself if I had not banished the idea almost as soon as conceived; that I could not tell him of it without exciting his interest, which would be going on with the design. He said that, being over, it was unnecessary to discuss it; but that he thought the perpetual confinement of the office and to London would not be agreeable to me if it had been obtained. I have, in fact, felt upon this as upon other such things, without a regret or a second thought, when they interfered with what in-

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variably I have found to be happiness—perhaps my only happiness—

"My hollow tree,
A crust of bread and liberty."

It was not unnatural that respect for the memory of Pitt, and a disinclination to abandon a colleague, if his conduct admitted of being defended, should for some time make the Cabinet incur the imputation of irresolution with regard to Lord Chatham. Lord Lonsdale, however, in the following letter, represents a state of feeling upon that subject among even the independent supporters of the Government which could not be long resisted.

Lord Lonsdale to R. Ward, Esq.

"Cottesmere, March 4. 1810.

"My dear Sir,

"On one account I am not sorry that I did not receive your packet by the post of Wednesday. Lord Camden wrote to desire me to attend the House on Friday. In my answer to him, I expressed, as strongly as I felt, the impression which Lord Chatham's conduct had occasioned, and my full belief that, if Mr. Perceval thought it right to defend him, he would find himself in a minority. I desired Lord Camden, if he had an opportunity, to communicate this opinion to Mr. Perceval, provided he thought proper to do so. What is to be the end of all this? There never was a Government managed matters

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amongst themselves so ill as this has done. With the fairest prospects of parliamentary support, a divided and feeble opposition, without a leader in the House of Commons capable of conducting it, and nothing wanting but cordiality and union amongst themselves, it is really most mortifying. I have not had the opportunity of reading the proceedings in either House on Friday last; but I agree with you, that, whatever might be Mr. Perceval's opinion, I think it had been better to have disposed of the question at once. No one, I believe, feels a stronger attachment to the memory of Mr. Pitt than I do; and yet I am not impelled by these feelings of attachment to justify or defend a conduct which I think he never would have approved of. I feel the greatest concern for Lord Chatham on this occasion; but I must confess it is mixed with a little anger, which those feelings of affection and regard towards his brother render me less able to express, though more inclined to do so.

"Pray let me hear from you often during this eventful time.

"Ever most faithfully yours,

"LONSDALE."

Lord Lowther being left, by Lord Chatham's letter, in perfect liberty of action, had no longer felt any scruples in accepting office as one of the Lords of the Admiralty. Other changes, however, were impending in that department. Lord Mulgrave was, on the 1st of May, 1810, transferred to the Ordnance, over which he continued to preside, as Master-General, during

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the whole of the remainder of the war, and after its conclusion till the close of his own official career. He was succeeded in the Admiralty by Mr. Charles Yorke; and in the following month, Lord Lowther also gave place to Mr. Frederick Robinson, the present Lord Ripon, accepting instead a seat at the Board of Control. Mr. Ward still remained at the Admiralty Board, as it was not till June 1811 that he again found himself under Lord Mulgrave as Clerk of the Ordnance. The circumstances under which Lord Mulgrave (having intimated to Mr. Perceval "the insufficiency of his health and strength to support for any time the incessant and laborious exertions of so arduous and anxious a department as the Admiralty,") succeeded Lord Chatham at the Ordnance are too well known to require any minute recapitulation. It was in the early part of 1810 that an immediate inquiry into all the circumstances of the unfortunate Walcheren Expedition was carried against Ministers by a majority of 195 against 186. In the course of this inquiry, a question arose as to a supposed second statement from Lord Chatham, addressed to the King direct, the production of which was moved for and resisted by Ministers. The demand for the production of this second statement was also carried; the answer of his Majesty, however, showed that there was no such document in existence, that the original statement had been placed in the King's hands with a humble request that it might be kept secret; and that it had been asked for again by the writer, and obtained from his Majesty for correction, and when

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proposed to be redelivered by Lord Chatham, had been by his Majesty directed to be presented to his Secretary of State. The whole proceeding up to this point, appeared to have been entirely without the knowledge of his colleagues in the Cabinet. Upon these facts, a vote of censure on Lord Chatham having been moved by Mr. Whitbread, and supported, to a certain extent, by even his former colleagues, Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning, was carried by a majority of 221 against 188, notwithstanding the moving of the previous question on the part of Mr. Perceval, who had the difficult task of defending a colleague against what must have been his own personal convictions, and even in the face of an admission from Lord Chatham's personal friends that in this instance his conduct had not been correct.

It is to be regretted that during this interesting period, involving (in addition to the discussions to which we have already alluded) those attendant upon the committal of Sir Francis Burdett to the Tower, the Diary, from which the preceding extracts were taken, is interrupted. Whether this arises from some portion which did exist being since lost, or from the extreme pressure upon his time caused by the minute inquiries, before the House of Commons, into all Admiralty proceedings with respect to the Walcheren expedition, I have no means of saying, as the journal is again resumed on the 4th of November, 1810, without any allusion to its interruption.

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CHAP. XII.

DIARY RESUMED. — DEATH OF PRINCESS AMELIA AND ILLNESS OF THE KING TO TERMINATION OF DEBATES ON REGENCY.

Sunday, Nov. 4th, 1810. — THE King composed and sensible enough on Friday to be told of the Princess's death.* The physicians agreed to inform him in order to produce a crisis. Halford took an opportunity to say "he was going to try his Majesty's piety." He immediately answered he knew what he meant, and that Amelia he supposed was dead. H. replied it was so; upon which the King went off in a low rambling way, which lasted some time, when he became more composed and mentioned her again, saying, "poor girl!" They say this is a favourable sign, and that if he had taken it heavily and with lowness or indifference, the hopes of recovery would not be so great.

Jan. 1st, 1811. — Opposition all elate with last night's division †, and sure of beating us to-night.

* The Princess Amelia died on the 2nd November, the day after that on which Parliament had formally met to be again prorogued, but the formal commission for its prorogation had not been issued by his Majesty, labouring as he then was under intense anxiety.

† On the 31st of December, the restrictions upon the Regent had been announced by Mr. Perceval in five distinct propositions. In opposition to the first of these, which prepared for such restrictions in general terms, an amendment had been moved, that the entire Royal power should be conferred on the Regent without any restrictions; upon which the numbers were, for ministers 224, against 200.

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Few of them at Brooks's, as the leaders went immediately after the debate to Carlton House. We are told already of arrangements, but all mere talk. Whitbread to be Foreign Secretary, and negotiate a peace. At the Admiralty, we have at least reason to believe, that Ld. St. Vincent says he is coming there, and has already promised promotion to an officer, from whom we derive it. What seems more serious, Ld. Moira is said to have told a dependent with a view to advance him, that he is to have the War and Colonies. Ld. Moira certainly talks. My brother, Captain Maling, about a month ago, met him and a friend of his walking together in the park. The friend and he separated, and on rejoining Capt. M., the former told him Ld. Moira had said that the Prince did not mean to remove the present Government at first, but merely to introduce a friend into the Cabinet, meaning himself. There was a talk also of his being Commander-in-Chief.

Wrote a note to Perceval to explain my absence last night. I was uneasy at it, considering the times, particularly as Ld. Lowther was with me, and I knew the interpretation it might receive. He answered very characteristically in these lines. "Dear Ward, I feel much obliged to you, for taking the trouble of explaining the cause of your absence last night, which, however, I assure you was perfectly unnecessary. I only wish I could flatter myself I had twenty such good friends as you in the same predicament."

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Wrote amply to Ld. Lonsdale all that was going forward though he comes to-morrow.

Lords Lowther and Kenyon called upon me separately, and had an ample discussion of politics.

At the House: eight hours' debate on the Household resolution — beaten, 226 to 213. Ld. Castlereagh and friends, Wilberforce and some saints, went over and added to the numbers of last night. Canning spoke again, and still more heavily than last night; not a single flash of wit, but a dull and laboured argument, in which he was wrong from beginning to end. Perceval, though he had a headache, answered him in his full style of manliness, and beat him to pieces, showed that he even mistook his own principles and Ld. Gower's amendment altogether. Many struck with his marked superiority. Rose among the rest. Several members observed, that when they come to be opposed in earnest he will rise far above him. He did so beyond comparison when Attorney-General under Addington. It was pleasant to observe the opinions as to Perceval in the House. Many country gentlemen told me they disagreed with him on the resolution, and knew he would be beaten, but devoted themselves to him on account of his manly firmness, his integrity, honour and courage. I observed to some of the Grenville people when he went out that he was a true *game cock*, to which they all, and with great marks of approbation, assented. It is pleasant, if you must fall, to fall with such a leader, and in such a cause.

With what hypocrisy of solemnity was the amend-

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ment ushered in, depriving the King in his state of depression and humiliation, after so long and virtuous a reign, of the ornaments of his royalty, because the nation (and such a nation!) could not afford 12,000*l.* a year.* Scarcely less disgusting and more outrageous was it to hear the Whigs, nay the democrats, deny the power of the Houses to limit the regency.

Romilly did this in terms, and with his usual speciousness. He declared himself not a worshipper of Pitt, and denied that he was a great man.† A strong burst of indignation. He said he had talents, but had not consulted the happiness of the people. A few cheers—and very violent murmurs. Wilberforce answered him with a warm panegyric on Pitt, hailed by the House. When Canning spoke, all expected to hear at least a glowing defence;

* The question turned upon having a separate household for the King, under the control of the Queen. The total charge was 16,000*l.*; but of this 4,000*l.*, or 25 per cent., would have been repaid into the Exchequer in taxes: the real objection, however, was not to the expense, but to the separate political influence it would give to the Queen.

† Sir Samuel Romilly, who spoke in the debate before Canning, had said, with reference to the precedent of 1788, that "he was not a worshipper of the memory of Mr. Pitt, although, as he was now dead, he did not wish to speak against him. He knew how many persons in that House were connected with him by private friendship, and were almost idolaters of his character and talents; but he must say, that notwithstanding the great talents he possessed, he never could acknowledge his claim to be considered a great man. . . . . The object of Mr. Pitt, through the whole course of those proceedings, was merely to retain the power in his own hands as long as he could; and when he could no longer keep it, to give it up to his successors as much curtailed as possible. . . . . The proceedings in Parliament at that day exhibited a struggle, in which scene Mr. Pitt appeared the principal actor, contending for his own power."

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but to the surprise of us all he was dumb on the point. His conduct in opposing every part of a precedent which was thought by his friends a monument of integrity, as well as of ability, in the man who was the entire author of his fortune, whom he claims to reverence, and appears to represent, I may say truly shocked many in the House — none more than old Rose*, with whom I had much conversation upon it, in the Secretary's room, and who owned that he was quite a proselyte to Perceval's superiority. He said, that on the change last year he had come up to town with the full intention of resigning his office, thinking that Canning, by his abilities and the friendship he had enjoyed with him, was most likely to keep Mr. Pitt's friends together; but that on seeing the correspondence with Perceval, he found it impossible to go with him; that he was delighted to see the latter progressively rising higher and higher in the estimation of everybody.

We heard the debate was drawing to an end and separated. In the course of the conversation, Rose said that when first Ld. Grenville came in, he wrote to him to assure him of his support; that he thought he or Ld. Harrowby were fittest to succeed Mr. Pitt, though since he had seen Ld. Bathurst's extraordinary ability he would have gladly given his voice for him. That his support of Ld. G. was soon put an end to by his allowing his friends, particularly Wickham, in common with the Foxites, to mix up the abuse of Mr. Pitt in all debates.

* He was then Treasurer of the Navy.

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Before the debate this evening, Ld. Temple asked to speak to me out of the House, and, with a civility not at all unlike that he showed when we went out in 1806, but extraordinary, considering our frequent sparrings, desired me to enable his father to do what he knew he desired as well as myself — put my name in the commission for Buckinghamshire. He assured me that his not having done so long before proceeded from no personal or party motive, but merely to preserve his own rule about the qualifications in the county. I told him that Ld. Buckingham had been inadvertent in expressing his meaning in his letters to me on the subject, as he rested it on the rule of law, requiring the qualification to be in the county, and as I knew that not to be so, I concluded, it might be personal, though his extreme civility at Buckingham might induce me to doubt it. Ld. T. said to show that is not so, if you will tell me that you mean permanently to reside in the county, it shall be done. We have known one another now some years in the House, only with the table between us, but that ought to be forgotten out of the House, unless indeed there were three or four witnesses, when I should have possibly a spar with you instead of this conversation. I said I was sorry that the table had intervened, as there was no man in the state, next to Mr. Pitt, for whom I had had a higher respect than Ld. Grenville. We parted with mutual civility. . . . .

Ld. Kenyon furious at the lukewarmness of the Lds., and high in praise of Perceval. . .. .

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Jan. 2nd, 1811. — King going on still better. Met the D. of Montrose at the Palace, who observed we did not shine the night before. I said not in numbers. He asked in what else; I told him in Perceval's superiority in argument, courage, and rectitude. He allowed that, he said, and added his reputation was spreading everywhere, while Canning was playing a game. I observed he must nevertheless go out, for the Prince could not continue him, except upon sufferance, till the state of the King was known, which would be the condition of a servant who had received warning; that the question was whether he should turn himself out or be turned out. The Duke said his duty to the King might lead him to wait for the latter, but there was no doubt he would act up to his character. Conversed in different places with different members of the opposition. Some said we might remain in, for who would undertake the Government to lose it in a week? Ld. Porchester's idea the best, though seemingly in jest, but there is many a true word spoke in jest. "We will let you have the felicity of procuring the supplies, and after the budget and mutiny acts, will exchange places." Ld. Kenyon came to me, he is working Ld. Liverpool to settle the question of proxies. I told him I was glad of his speech on the question of the Bill and Address. He said it was very short, but he was so sorry to see all the representatives of the law peerages departing from the law, that he wished his sentiments might be known.

In a conversation to-day with Perceval, he said

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he did not think there were many rats, only a few mice. Seemed pleased with an account they had heard of Ld. Huntley, who as soon as he had arrived, was beset to vote against the resolutions, and many arguments offered, particularly by the D. of Cumberland. "I believe all is very true, as your Royal Highness says," he observed, "but there is an old Highland proverb, never quit a friend in need, and it is so much observed, that if I were to comply I should never be able to show my face in the Highlands, which, as I have a house there, would be mighty inconvenient." Others say, and I have heard his friends blame him for coarseness (not so I), the answer was this, "We have a proverb in the Highlands that whoever deserts his friend in need is a damned scoundrel; and I am sure your Royal Highness cannot wish me to make myself a damned scoundrel!"

Our opponents are at least very industrious, if not very fair. Ld. Muncaster who came 500 miles to vote for the Restrictions, was scarce out of his chaise before he was told that Ld. Lonsdale and all his friends had gone over to the Prince, and that Ld. Lowther had voted against the Restrictions on Monday, alluding no doubt to his having been locked out at the same time I was at the division. This alarmed Ld. Muncaster, who said, "If so, I must go out of town again, I certainly will not oppose Ld. Lonsdale, but if these are his politics, I cannot support him." However, he met Sir James Graham soon after who set all right, and who told this anecdote to me.

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The canvas of the Princes is worse in the manner than the thing itself. . . . . The D. of Cumberland assured Ld. Rolle that he knew it would be highly agreeable to the King if he would vote against the Restrictions. Ld. R. answered very stoutly that his conduct in 1788, prevented his compliance if anything else did; but that as to its being agreeable to the King, he must be excused if he expressed his surprise, as after his recovery in 1789, his Majesty took the first opportunity of seeing him to express his warmest acknowledgements to him for the part he had taken, and the zeal he had shown in defending his interests. This was a slap of the face which the Duke must have felt if he had any feeling at all.

At the House on the report of the Restrictions, Ld. Porchester moved an amendment similar to Lamb's, and the grand debate was renewed with a spirit and energy, as well as an eloquence not lately witnessed. Perceval who had distinguished himself in every part of the subject already, left it to Ryder and Yorke, and did not speak. Ryder * is always full of rectitude, good sense, and honourable conduct; he is also eloquent, but his eloquence and manner too heavy for a popular assembly; it would have weight on the bench. The flower of the evening was the Master of the Rolls †, who made a luminous argument quite worthy his very best days. Much hailed by the

* Right Honourable Richard Ryder, the Secretary of State for the Home Department.

† Sir William Grant.

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House. Sheridan answered him in pleasantry, quite worthy himself too. We said it was *Sheridanus Redivivus!* but an argument was scarce even attempted, and on the whole he was so unluckily devious that he beat his own party more than us. Upon Ld. Grenville's speech, in 1789, republished at this time, and much quoted by Ryder, he said, Oh! that my friend had not written a book! He said that the contest in 1789, was a scandalous scramble for power, and therefore the precedent was good for nothing, but allowed his friends were quite as bad as the other side. He allowed, too, in terms that Mr. Pitt carried with him four fifths of the nation; that Ld. Grenville's last government did not possess the public opinion; but that he said was not his fault; he could not help public opinion! He called the Ministry the *Cinque vir*, and told Perceval as he was so fond of precedent, he supposed he was particularly fond of that, as the head of the *Cinque vir* was a lawyer.

Note.—Opposition were always fond of alluding to the circumstance of Mr. Perceval's being a lawyer, and to the persons who came into place with him being, many of them, lawyers. In their papers they descended so low as to call him a pettifogger, a broken-down lawyer, &c. They forgot that the man whom they all acknowledged to be first-rate, Mr. Pitt, was a lawyer when he first became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and had returned to the law when he became first Minister. They forgot that Ld. Grenville had studied for the bar (I believe he was called); and

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they conveniently forgot that their very leader in the House, the actual head of their party, was Ponsonby, an ex-Chancellor*, a lawyer in all his education and habits, and at that moment enjoying 4000 a year for having been a lawyer.

We thought the debate had closed, when Canning burst out with one of the most exuberant and magnificent flowing invectives against Romilly for his attack upon Pitt the night before, and his attempt to revive forgotten animosities, that ever could be heard anywhere. It seemed to electrify the House, and kindled an indignation against Romilly which actually thundered. . . . . I am obliged to allow that from Fox or from Pitt I never heard any thing equal to this forcible declamation.† The wonder was to see the cold self-possession with which Romilly received it, and the adroitness with which he answered it, so as to remove most of its impression. Such is

* The Right Honourable George Ponsonby had been Lord Chancellor of Ireland during the short period of the Fox and Grenville Administration.

† The following were among the passages alluded to:—"Can it be necessary, in our present situation, sufficiently full of distractions and divisions, to rake up the ashes of the dead for the purpose of kindling new flames among the living? For myself, I can confidently say that we do not desire to erect an altar to the object of our veneration with materials picked from the sepulchral monuments of his rival. The character of him whom we venerate and regret shines without contrast; its lustre is all its own, and requires not the extinction of the reputations of others to make it blaze with a brighter flame. . . . Mr. Pitt, it seems, was not a great man! Is it then that we live in such heroic times; that the present is a race of such gigantic talents and qualities as to render those of Mr. Pitt, in the comparison, ordinary and contemptible? Who then is the man now living—is there any man now sitting in this House—who, by taking the measure of his own mind, or of that of any of his contemporaries, can feel himself justified in pronouncing Mr. Pitt was not a great man?

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human passion and human reason. The very first sentence made favourable way for all the rest. "I will not," said he, "pretend to answer the magnificent effusions of a zeal which have burst upon me after four-and-twenty hours' consideration." This was so felt by the House that, coupled with Canning's present conduct in regard to the measure of the man for whose sake he seemed to have been actuated by such indignation, we listened with much more complacency than we otherwise should have felt. The argument was, that he had mentioned Mr. Pitt with no animosity, and with no view of reviving animosity, but merely because Canning himself had forced him to question the authority of the name, by making that authority the groundwork of his argument. Canning threatened in his speech that if such was to be the principle of the Foxites, and they were to instil it into the mind of the Regent when they became his councillors, he would oppose them with all his strength.

Ponsonby made a conciliatory speech; said that, for one, he did not partake of any wish to preserve party animosity, and hoped the warmth on both sides would not be repeated. Canning said that, upon such a disavowal, as far as he (Ponsonby) was concerned, he was willing to forget his warmth. Whitbread said there had been no disavowal; but the observers set all this down as a flirtation between the expected new government and Canning. Ld. * * *, who spoke to me of it the next day, was very particular upon it. He sides with opposition, but talks of

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them in terms of undisguised disrespect, and the contrary of Perceval, to whose augmented reputation, all through this contest, in common with all others, he bore the fullest testimony.

The feeling of the House was so much with us upon the general question of Restrictions, that Ld. Porchester's motion was lost without a division. But we again lost the question of the Household by 3 (217 to 214). Our rising upon the last minority of 13 was owing to Perceval's new-modelling the resolution, in order, as he supposed, to conciliate those votes which had stood out on account of the power of dismissal in the Queen; these were the whole Canning party, consisting of about 10, and Wilberforce and his friends. Had there been common and honest consistency these must have joined us. Wilberforce had actually got up to come out with us, when Canning left his place to confer with him, and they all remained. We had all the Sidmouths. I had conversed with Mr. Bathurst upon the amendment taking away the power of dismissal from the Queen, which he had himself intended to move, but at his desire, having sent Perceval to him, after conference, it was agreed the thing should be moved by Perceval.

How different is Bourne from Canning. Not having attended any of the debates, I thought he was ill in the country; but Huskisson told me to-night that he staid away purposely. He has the strongest opinion against the Restrictions, and at least as sincere a one as that of Canning; he is also bound to Canning by every tie; nevertheless shows more regard to the

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memory of Mr. Pitt than to fly in the face of his measure, as well as more regard to his own character, than to assert, like Canning, that the measure was a masterpiece, and pull it all to pieces.

Jan. 3rd. — Ld. Lonsdale came last night. We missed one another at our respective houses; but I saw him in the Lords. He was exceedingly kind and confiding, as he always is; and in all respects our opinions seem to be the same upon what is going on. He thanked me for my letters, and asked me to call upon him before one the next day, adding, "You will be a little surprised to hear where I am obliged to be at that hour." I certainly was surprised to find his obligation was to be at Carlton House by appointment of the Prince. He, however, explained it, while we walked home in the snow together, by telling me he had been chairman of the Royal Institution, where they elected the Prince their president in the room of Ld. Dartmouth, and, as such, had been desired to communicate the election; that he had written to Bloomfield, the Prince's secretary, to know the most respectful and agreeable manner of doing this; and had, with many expressions of civility been ordered to attend in person. I told him he must expect to be watched, and to hear a thousand interpretations upon his visit, especially after all that had already been misrepresented. We parted, powdered with snow; groups of members in the same situation, and all equally forgetting the cold in the warmth of their politics. What curious little animals must we appear

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to those above us, "Confined and pestered in this pinfold here!"

Ld. Westmoreland asked me to meet Ld. Lonsdale at dinner; but I was engaged to the Lady Bathursts, whom I had not seen since their return from the coast, and with whom we had incessant good-humoured politics till near midnight. They all admire Perceval, and are more than ever stanch to what we laugh and call "the right side."

At Ld. Lonsdale's above an hour: nothing, however, new or particular. He showed me the Prince's letter by Bloomfield, which was remarkable for very pointed personal civility. Ld. L. expected there would be no politics at the meeting, as indeed was the fact.

Jan. 4th, 1811. — At the House. A memorable night in both Houses, as demonstrative of Ld. Grenville's real character. In the Peers Ld. Liverpool moved his resolutions of Restrictions, similar to those of the Commons. On the 1st Ld. Lansdowne moved an amendment, to leave out all the words, "subject to the following restrictions and limitations" (I am not sure of the exact words); so that the resolution would be simply to declare the Prince regent, without any limitation at all. Strange to say, considering Ld. Grenville's conduct in 1789, and his forcible argument on the necessity for restrictions, on immutable principles, he supported this amendment to the utmost! Not strange, if we consider that political inconsistency is nothing, if it help a party purpose, and that there was here the party purpose

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of obtaining a majority. This was accomplished: the numbers were * to ; so that it was thought all restrictions whatsoever were thrown out, and a message to that effect sent to Carlton House. The Prince was no doubt obliged to the consistent statesman for this compliment, of neither more nor less than his whole character and authority as a public man, to the wishes and interests of his new master. Not so fast, however. His Lordship at the time supposed, as the resolution restricting the peerage was different from that in 1789, by the exception in favour of the army and navy, he might fairly object to this also; and that throughout the whole adhere to his party and obtain the same majority. He makes a floundering speech, abuses the exception, which he thought Ministers would not give up, and he should be safe; but on a sudden falls into his own trap. Ld. Liverpool gives up the exception: he is fixed; he must abandon his principle or vote: there is no time to consider, and he does vote that there shall be the greatest of all limitations, — on the power of making peers; having just before voted that there should be no limitation whatever. His party are astounded; they feel all the consequences of this second tergiversation, and, to be consistent themselves, give up Ld. Lansdowne's amendment. This, too, goes to Carlton House. What must the Prince think of this dangerous ally who, like the elephants of old, destroys his own friends. It was well said, he was like the King

* Blank in the original, the numbers were 105 to 102.

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of Prussia writing to the Queen in the battle of*

. At first, "We have gained a great victory. Order *Te Deum*." In the end, "We have been completely defeated. Fly from Berlin." So to Carlton House. At first, "Your Royal Highness is Regent without any restrictions." In the end, "Your Royal Highness is more restricted than ever." Three or four friends followed Lord Grenville in each division; but his brother and cousin persisted stoutly in their apostasy, and at least had the advantage of being decided.

In the Commons Ld. Grenville's conduct hardly less animadverted upon. In the state of the country it was necessary the public money should be applied to the purposes for which the public had granted it. A million was wanted. The Treasury orders it. The auditor refuses: that auditor is Ld. Grenville. He is asked, why: he answers, because if the Lords of the Treasury can give him such an order, it will remove all the wholesome and necessary checks for which the auditorship was established.† When the letters containing this reasoning were printed and

* Blank in the original. He allndes to the battle of Kunersdorf, between Frederick the Great and the Russians under Soltikoff.

† In consequence of the state of the King's health, his signature to a warrant for the money required for the army and navy (already quoted) could not be obtained. Lord Grenville, as auditor, declined to draw an order on the bank on the mere requisition of the Lords of the Treasury without the authority of the Great Seal, Privy Seal, or Sign Manual. Upon appeal to the Law Officers of the Crown, his view was supported; and a resolution of both Houses was required, and not passed till after considerable discussion. The real *feeling* upon both sides seemed to depend upon the question, as to whether the Minister had, or had not, delayed too long to provide for such contingencies.

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read on Perceval's motion, the whole House were struck with the recollection of the very first attempt which marked his Administration in 1806, and what, in fact, was to enable him to be auditor and treasurer too. His Foxite friends confessed this; many of them even talked of it, as we did: for none of them, while they pocket the advantage of joining with him, either esteem or love him; some openly abuse him.

. . . . . .

Jan. 6th, 1811.—At Lord Lonsdale's, with Lds. Muncaster and Lowther. The whole talk on the scandal in the Lords on Friday night (4th), on the question of the proxies. The House a mere mob, and Lauderdale had said, no power on earth, no command of the House, should make him receive proxies.* Ld. Lonsdale said he should have been sent to the Tower. Much observation on the Speaker's neutrality. Ld. Muncaster asked if Wynne did not aim at the chair. I said, Yes, but the Speaker was so admirable, as such, above all others, and had taken such steps to please all parties, particularly in Ld. Melville's Impeachment, that nothing could move him.

Jan. 7th, 1811.—Greenhill dined with me. He is red hot on the other side; but his honour and kindness of heart do not suffer this to break his friendships. We had much talk of the times; he adores Perceval,

* The division (which had reference to the propriety of adjourning for the purpose of considering the question of proxies) having commenced, no peer could (in order) speak except the tellers, of whom the one, Lord Mulgrave, called for proxies, and contended they must be received upon that division, while the other, Lord Lauderdale, refused to take them.

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and hates Canning, whom he rejoiced, he said, to see punished for his selfish concealments by his loss of lead in the House. Notwithstanding which he feared they would be obliged to take him, on account of the inclination the Prince had to him ever since he opposed Perceval's and Ld. Eldon's proposal, to report on the conduct of the Princess that there was no ground for inquiry. The Prince he said so hated his wife that this immediately turned Canning into his friend, and he much feared a junction with him. He thought the Princess the most ungrateful creature alive for her conduct to Perceval and the Chancellor. As Greenhill, from his being a stanch old Foxite and his personal respectability, is much with the party, I thought there might be much in all this. He told me a circumstance of Ld. Wellesley, which had been reported (apparently as from the Prince) at their last meeting at Ponsonby's, which demands some inquiry. Ld. W. it seems asked lately for an audience * at Carlton House which was granted. In this he was reported to have assured the Prince of his concern, that from the circumstances of the times he felt obliged to vote with his colleagues in the great measure of the Regency. To all this, which was not unnaturally reckoned an attempt at trimming, the Prince only replied, "My Lord, I expect my brother here upon business, and wish you a good evening." I hope this is not true, but his quietness in the House of Peers, and the stories everywhere circulated of his differing

* See his own account of this to his brother, p. 322.

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with Perceval on the restrictions, will not be the less misrepresented in consequence of this report. That they are misrepresented, Yorke told me last week, and that he was perfectly stanch upon the whole question. Ld. Mulgrave, too, said one day at table that on the night of Ld. Grenville's saucy speech, in which he was so personal to Ministers upon the question of the Bill, Lord Wellesley, who sat next to Ld. M., said damn this fellow, he deserves to have his toes trod upon for such a speech. Ld. M. replied why don't you tread upon them; but the Chancellor, who was more immediately called upon, answered him at length, and prevented Ld. W. Yorke in speaking of his silence in the Lds., said it it was because he must have everything "*ad unguem*", his own time, place, opportunities, and arrangement—but when he had that he was most exceedingly powerful, which is true.

Greenhill said the Foxites were all in a rage against Ld. Grenville for his folly on Friday night;* which fell in exactly with what Long told me at his house this morning. Long had called upon Ld. S., who though devoted to Ld. Grenville could not contain himself; d—n him, said he, after the worst speech that was ever made to pave the way for inconsistency, on a sudden to leave us for the sake of consistency, and ruin the whole game. Long said he thought none of them were aware of the line he meant to pursue, which was the reason of Ld. Lansdowne moving his amendment; he thought so

* Upon the Regency Restrictions, see *antè*, pp. 312, 313.

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particularly, because when Ld. Temple voted with us on the Bill against the Address, Long said to him, this is not the last vote you will give us; Ld. Temple replied, you are very much mistaken; at least, Long answered, we shall have Ld. Grenville again, upon which his Lordship exclaimed with an oath that we should not. This makes one think that Ld. Grenville had at first resolved to go all lengths with the rest, and hence his wretched reasoning to support the vote he gave Ld. Lansdowne's amendment against all restrictions whatsoever. His heart failed him however.

The publication of his speech in 1789 did him much harm, for after giving up every point of it to gain a majority on the first resolution, the sacrifice became too much, and he lost the whole benefit in vainly endeavouring to retrieve it. Ld. Lansdowne was the first sufferer, in being obliged to relinquish his triumph by giving up his amendment, the second vote utterly destroying the first. The Prince, however, suffered more, as it destroyed the greatest and almost only privilege which [it] was worth contesting, that of creating peers; and his more determined friends say to Ld. G., it is you whose unsteadiness has ruined us—had you sacrificed us to consistency, we might perhaps only have lamented our union with you, but your virtue was gone when you voted for the first resolution; it was therefore sheer and wretched indecision. Such is their language, and they might apply to him a phrase of their leader, Ponsonby, when in the Parliamentary attack on the Copenhagen expedition, he reproached us for not, on our own principles,

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taking Cronstadt also, "why," said he, "are you so shabby in your iniquity?"

Surely for the most consummate statesman in Europe, as his friends are fond of calling him, Ld. G. has done more foolish things than almost all the statesmen in Europe put together. He was, however, two hours yesterday with the Prince, and how he made good his explanations we know not, but Ld. Kensington, whom I saw afterwards, offered me a wager of 100 guineas that he would be Prime Minister. Long cordially agreed with me in opinion of Perceval's superior merits, of his increased reputation, and on the pleasure it was to have such a leader in such a cause. He said that, like Rose, in the original separation between him and Canning, he had inclined to think the latter would have been the stronger of the two as premier; but not only his cause had been so bad, he could not then follow him, but he *thought himself now entirely mistaken upon the comparative force of the two men.* We both of us thought the present crisis on which we were to go out so constitutional and so honourable, and would put us on such high ground with all honest and impartial men, that if the Ministry wished for an opportunity of retiring, it seemed to have been created on purpose for them.

Jan. 8th, 1811.—Dr. Saunders (physician extraordinary to the Prince), whom I met at my brother's, told me that the Prince was always upon the utmost reserve upon politics; that Sir W. Farquhar was at C. House every day, and generally made to wait long, and when he saw the Prince could observe nothing; that

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he was very serious, and supposed to be engaged with religion, and read daily a chapter or two of the Bible with Lady Hertford. Upon my laughing, he said it was known their attachment was merely platonic; that he was not an ambitious man, and disliked Ld. Grenville. My nephew from the City told me Perceval had won favour beyond what was thought possible. Dr. Saunders's account at least squares with Greenhill's, that the Prince was methodistically inclined.

Lds. Lonsdale and Lowther left town for Cottesmere, to return when the action would begin again in the Houses, which will not certainly be before Saturday, if then.

At the House upon the alteration made in the resolutions by the Lds. Agreed to without debate or division.

Walked home with Tyrwhitt (Ld. Warden to the Prince, and his organ in the House), whom I had known at college (Ch. Ch.,), and with whom I sometimes talk. I said is it possible that what I hear is true, and that the Prince takes the restrictions as personal to himself? He replied I don't know as to that, but there has been much personality, and many have been impertinent. I observed I knew no instance of either, but at least he could not fix either upon Perceval, who had acted as an entire honest man. He said rather briskly I am not sure about Perceval, but I am sure that one has been downright impertinent, and that is the master of your department, Yorke. I asked in what, for he surprised me. He said, with some heat, in using the words, "Let the

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King have fair play." What the devil did any body mean to show him foul play. I replied that I thought no one would put such an interpretation upon the words; that I was sure Mr. Yorke had not the Prince in contemplation when he used them; that they merely meant that his disorder should have fair play by the *adjournment*, in a debate, upon which, they were uttered. The gentleman, however, was not mollified, and merely saying you are right to defend your chief, we parted. I told Sir Joseph Yorke what had passed, leaving him to acquaint his brother or not as he pleased; being utterly of no consequence, except as far as Tyrwhitt might be supposed to express the sentiments of the Prince.

In the House to-day Sir George Warrender, a good-natured man, though strong in opposition, said to me he rejoiced in the King's amended state of health, if only because it would disappoint the rats, whom the crisis had discovered to Perceval, who had fought nobly, and had all his respect. I remember asking Ld. Temple if he did not give Perceval his respect, to which he said he was obliged to do, for the stand he had made, but that he ought to be impeached for leaving the royal authority so long vacant.

Jan. 9th, 1811.—To-day I had a long and interesting conversation with Wellesley Pole. The town had much talked of Ld. Wellesley's visit to Carlton House, upon which different parties put different interpretations. My "Board" friends, to whom I had mentioned Greenhill's anecdote, were disposed to think him trimming, and to give full credit to the story.

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* * * too, who thought he knew through some of his Irish connections, gave it countenance, and was uneasy. Meeting Pole he asked what news? I said, very bad, if what was reported was true, that Ld. Wellesley had been at Carlton House with a view of going over. Pole said he had certainly been there, but not with that view, and if I would go with him he would tell me all that passed as he heard it from his brother himself. We walked through the park to the Irish office (Pole was Secretary for Ireland), during which he told me that Ld. Wellesley, feeling that he was under obligations to the Prince, who had canvassed for him while under charge for his conduct in India, as well as for other marks of personal favour, and having a strong opinion in favour of the restrictions, conceived that it would be proper to explain his feelings in person to his Royal Highness. I don't tell you, said Pole, if he had asked my advice that I would ever have suffered him to take such a step; it admitted of all sorts of constructions; but I tell you the fact. He therefore demanded and obtained an audience; in which he stated that his personal obligations were so great, that he thought he was bound in respect and gratitude to his Royal Highness to explain, that nothing short of the strong opinion he had conceived of the constitutional necessity for the restrictions, could have made him take the part he did, in entirely approving the measures of his colleagues; that he had taken an active share upon the same question, and on the same constitutional grounds, in 1789, and that the more he considered the precedent the more he

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thought it right; thus consistency and duty together had dictated a determination which he should be extremely sorry if the Prince disapproved. Thus far Greenhill's account is well founded; but instead of dismissing Ld. W. without entering on the subject, Pole went on to say the Prince was angry, and expressed his concern and surprise that any friend of his could suppose he took the proposed restrictions well; that he could not help feeling them a personal want of confidence in himself which he did not deserve, and therefore took it personally ill of the Ministry; that it would have been the pride of his heart if the King recovered to restore things to him as much as possible in the same state as he found them, without being restricted so to do, but that Ministers had now by their conduct rendered that impossible. Meaning, as Ld. Wellesley undestood, that there must be a change. To all this Ld. Wellesley answered, that he was sorry if the performance of what he conceived to be a paramount duty to the constitution should displease his Royal Highness, that nevertheless he must perform it, that as to office it was well known he was not ambitious of it, that having the command of the King three times to it, he had declined its acceptance, that he had only taken it at last because he was told it would give strength to the Government, and that he had always been ready to lay it down from the same motive; that he did not know what opinions might be entertained of his public character, but at his time of life it must be settled in men's minds one way or the other, and he was only desirous of preserving it as it was. The

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conversation here ended, and it was then that the Prince dismissed him by saying he had business, or, as M. A. Taylor told me afterwards, when I breakfasted with him (on the 10th), by telling him he knew he was a punctual man, and would not keep him from dinner.

Now the remark to be made upon all this is, that there was great manliness, candour, and good sense, but all of them out of their place. Had the Prince sought the conversation it would have been admirable; as Ld. W. sought it, the only wonder is what business he had to do so. Pole told me a variety of anecdotes of the difficulties of the Irish Government, and the want of a radical change in its formation and powers. The facilities of the good-natured Duke (of Richmond) are not the least of the embarrassment. Sir Chas. Saxton, the Under Secretary, and the minister for the country during Pole's long and necessary absences, is it seems a Grenvillite, and as such actually asked and obtained leave to go to Oxford to vote on an old promise for Ld. Grenville. He obtained it from the Duke unknown to Pole, who remonstrated with his characteristic manliness and spirit both with the Duke, and with Perceval and Ryder here; and as, in addition to this conduct of Saxton, he thought it dangerous that a man so devoted to Ld. Grenville should be the official person to watch his friends the catholics, he remonstrated strongly that he ought to be displaced. The Duke, thinking himself bound by his promise, would not break it, and Pole said he ought to resign after these remonstrances if Saxton did not; and having told Saxton of

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his opposition to his being allowed to go to Oxford, he plainly said to him that he ought to give up if he did. In this Saxton, who Pole with his usual fairness said was a fair man, agreed; but all was hushed up by the mild and good Perceval, who, as they had not made Oxford a party thing at first, would not so punish Saxton. Pole showed me all his letters on this occasion, which were written with great openness and energy.

January 10*th*, 1811. — A strange report that Ld. Chatham was to have office, nay, to be Premier. He has had a conference with the Prince, which may be all that is true; but as he has also been at Lord Grenville's, whose ill usage of him if he had a grain of spirit he would not have so passed over, something may be in the wind. The *nil admirari* is all that can be applied.

Wrote amply yesterday to Lady Mary Lowther and Ld. Lonsdale upon all that was passing.

January 11*th*. — At the House at ten in the morning to communicate the names of our Committee for waiting on the Prince and Queen to the Lds. M. A. Taylor asked me to breakfast, I said I should be thought a rat, but went. Much conversation about the Prince. He says there is a great reserve about him just now, contrary to his usual habit; his mind seems to be made up about something, but no one knows it. He amused me in talking of Perceval; he was the best creature he said, and had shown great ability and great courage, but was so wrong in his conduct, he was sorry for it; the Prince took, and

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must take it, as personal to himself, it was so imprudent; the Prince was too good to remember it long, but if he should, he (Taylor) would take care to soften him; that he had sacrificed his profession to public life, and his public life, at least his office, to his conscience. I shall, therefore, said he, take some opportunity to tell him, when I find him in good humour, Sir, don't you think Mr. Perceval a man to be considered, he has been very wrong, but all from conscience; don't you think some addition would be acceptable, and would it not be generous in your Royal Highness. I really think, added he, the Prince will take care of Perceval; he must turn him out, he has made that inevitable, but I really think he will take care of him. I said I had heard as much from others, and that one, a very determined oppositionist, had hoped he would leave him his place of Chancellor of the Duchy, which had originally been given him for life. O, said M. Angelo, that is bespoke. What, said I, Ld. Derby? He assented. I then asked what he was to have himself, as it was to be supposed he might have anything. The world, said I, laughing, affirms you are to be Deputy-Regent, and to be called Lord Angelo, but pray take care of an Isabella. Sir, said he, with great solemnity, you little think of the person I have at home when you talk of an Isabella; as to being Ld. Angelo, I will accept of no peerage, nor no office that is not an efficient and respectable one. What think you, said I, of Home Secretary of State. Why that too, he said, was bespoke. I fancy, replied I, they are all bespoke. There certainly are

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many competitors, said he, but I am content to be His Friend. I asked him why he should not have that place created for him. He saw I was laughing, and turned the discourse upon Ld. Chatham, upon the report of whom he was very anxious; he would not believe that he had been at Carlton House, for, said he, I must have known. When I told him that a Prince's member, meaning Wm. Fitzgerald, said there was more in it than people thought, he rather took fire, saying, there are no Prince's members but Tyrwhitt, M'Mahon, myself, and Sheridan, and none of us, I assure you, know, so you must be mistaken. Ld. Chatham has been with Ld. Grenville, indeed, and that must be what is meant. I told him there were more Prince's members than he thought of, especially now. He shook his head and we parted, after he had hoped that in or out he should see me often at Whitehall, where how I came to be at all was my only wonder.

The King much better. Saw Freemantle; he rushes *in medias res*, saying with a smile, So the King means to put an end to all our discussions and arrangements by getting well; nevertheless, we must have the Bill. I said no, not *the* Bill, but *a* Bill to provide for a relapse, if, indeed, such a measure might not make him ill again. He answered rather briskly, what if it does, is the nation to be ruined for fear of driving the King mad? I laughed at his party vehemence and replied, that he was mistaken in his first fancy, that the nation would be ruined; they were not ruined as it was, and he might very reasonably

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wait, as his Majesty from his years, must, in the course of nature, die almost soon enough even for them!

This morning I had a lively letter from Lady * * *, laughing at and renouncing as friends all wise people who were shut out of the House, when they were supposed to be on the watch; alluding to her brother and me on the night of the 30th. Answered her at length.

At the House on the Prince's answer, which I sent to Ld. Lonsdale, together with the account of Ld. Wellesley's incautious interview. The answer milder than we were told it was. Inconsistent, however, inasmuch as he affects to say he would have done everything spontaneously he is now obliged to do by the Restrictions, yet hinting that thus restricted he cannot carry on the Government. This completely proved when he says he retains all the sentiments of the answer in 1789. Ryder agreed with me when I made the observation to him. Ld. Erskine, whom I met coming out of the House of Peers, and who walked home with me, said the King would certainly get well, but what he most wished, was a provision in case of a relapse; that it should be very particularly contrived to avoid all *éclat*, so that when the case arose, there should be no public examination and report of physicians, but upon certain private forms being gone through, the Regent should be installed without ceremony, and quietly carry on the Government. He said he did not think the answer good, to which in part I agreed. I find out of doors the same

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opinion, and had the Prince left the matter half way, expressing his regret that he had not been left the power of showing that he would have done the same thing restricted or not restricted, I think most people would have admired it.

Dundas, who had been one of the committee to wait upon the Prince with the Address, told me in the House he received them with cold ceremony, marking all the significant parts of the answer with very peculiar emphasis, as if desirous they should see he was piqued. How foolish to be so, when at fifty years of age he must know that nothing but a regard for the constitution, and no personal feeling could have dictated the Restrictions.* Yet his advisers are Whigs! such Whigs! I remember Abercrombie told me behind the chair in one of the debates, where Perceval was much and feelingly insisting upon the consideration for the King's condition, that this was precisely the difference between us Tories and them Whigs; one was for the person of the King, the other for the kingly office. It is reversed with a vengeance

* This would not appear quite so clear to the Prince; indeed the whole passage is more curious as a picture of the real feelings entertained by the party in power at the time, than as a fair criticism on the Prince, or on the Whigs. It were very easy to show, that it would have been more in accordance with the constitution to give to a power which was necessarily substituted for that of the King, precisely the same rights, and confined it within no more narrow limits. The objection was to the supposed probable misapplication of those powers, and the conversion of what was then expected to be a mere temporary delegation of power into the means of effecting permanent changes in the government. In fact, the Prince was not mistaken in considering that the restrictions had a personal reference; nor was the Minister, under the circumstances, to be blamed for introducing them with that view.

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in the case of an heir-apparent; there it is all person and no constitution. They are, however, wise in their generation, for what is a worn out old man of seventy-three, who has exhausted himself in benefits upon them (I speak most emphatically of the Grenville's), in comparison of him whose career is opening.

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There was some state at Carlton House while the answer was reading; the rooms full of gentlemen, some of the Princes and attendants, the Prince in his chair, on his right hand his Chancellor Adam, and Ld. Moira; on his left Sheridan and the Duke of Cumberland (who affected, observe, to make the present Government), behind, Tyrwhitt, Mr. Mahon, and I believe Bloomfield.

January 12*th*, 1811.—To-day I met Ld. Kensington. Though it rained hard, he stopped to say, abruptly enough, Well! whether you are out or in, my respect and approbation will always follow Perceval; he has shown himself game, and fought like a gentleman, so we all say. I asked him what really they did say at Brooks', not merely of Perceval, but of the expected change. He laughed, for he openly expresses his dislike of them, and walking away with me, said they were all at sixes and sevens, there was such a competition and such disagreement among the competitors; one great bone was Canning and his party. It was feared that some were for taking him, but that many leading members utterly and unappeasably against it; the latter were composed entirely of old Foxites, Lord Thanet, who he said, had

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much weight, the Duke of Bedford and all the Russell party, Fitzpatrick, Whitbread, &c. That these, he thought, would force the others; that Canning had made them personal enemies, exclusive of that, they would not trust him; that in addition to this they were all jealous and angry with Sheridan, for putting himself so forward as the representative of the Prince, which they would not suffer him to be. Nevertheless, he would lay 100 guineas that Lord Grenville would be premier, in which I disagreed with him. All this was told in a tone of great enmity to them, although he showed no sort of *rapprochement* to us; he said that many of them had shown such Jacobinical principles the others were afraid of them, that Romilly would not be Chancellor on this account. We met Creevy and Brougham, and Ld. K. in his rough way, said to them, you two are thrown overboard, meaning that the party had discarded them; they returned the compliment to him, and when we separated, he said, they will be among the discontented supporters of the new Ministry. He then told me how his suit went on with Ld. Holland for Holland House, the original source, I believe, of his misunderstanding with him.

Ld. and Lady Kenyon dined with us, and we had a political conversation, with more agreement of sentiment than in the last.

January 13*th*, 1811.—Dined at Ld. Mulgrave's. Lds. Harrowby, Mansfield, Cathcart, Kenyon, Harewood, Sir James Pulteney, Lady Kenyon, and Lady Wellington, who, on account both of herself and her husband, was peculiarly interesting. Less politics

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than could be expected, but all under the fullest conviction of the rectitude of the measures taken; much general anecdote, and from the high spirits of the party, no one could think we were going out. *Justùm et tenacem propositi.* Bourne's* conduct was talked of to his credit, yet some said they could more easily understand his voting against us from party feeling, than his staying away from real opinion against the Restrictions.

Jan. 14*th.* — Heard from Ld. Lonsdale. He is astonished at Ld. Wellesley's step at Carlton House, which is unaccountable. Not at all surprised at Ld. Chatham's endeavouring to attach himself either there or to the Grenvilles. Supposes his old friends will be as little sorry to lose, as his new to gain him. Thinks he comes within a remark which Lady Fortescue made to Ld. Mahon, when he proposed to attach himself to Ld. Grenville,—We don't want such recruits, they are only fit to attack, and we have too many of that sort already!

The town full of the quarrels at Carlton House, and a visit of two hours paid yesterday to Ld. Holland, who is in the gout, where Whitbread, Tierney, and other old Foxites, and Ld. Gr. Levison attended. The Prince's answer, it seems, was too much milk and water to please Lds. Grenville and Grey, particularly as they had been desired to furnish one in the first

* The conduct of Mr. Sturges Bourne, not only on account of his talents and character, but from his close general intimacy, was much watched. Upon this occasion, while Canning voted against Ministers, Sturges Bourne had absented himself from the division.

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instance, which they did, but which was found so rash and offensive, and tending so much to involve him in a quarrel with the Parliament, that the Prince by other advice rejected it; one adviser at least was Sheridan, who drew up (probably in communication with others) the answer that was actually adopted. This gave such great offence to those who thought everything was to yield to them, that they presented a sharp remonstrance to their new master, in which it is said they fell into downright reproaches. Be this as it may, they very tartly protested against the use of his own free will in choosing to follow the opinions of any other than themselves. To this remonstrance the Prince made no sort of a reply; and from what motive, whether of disgust and resentment we don't know, soon after called on Lord Holland, to whom he actually offered the Premiership. This, we understand, was ultimately refused, but from the attendance of many Foxites (though without Ld. Grey, and no Grenville whatever), it is supposed the mind of the Prince leans more than ever to the memory of his friend Fox. Ld. Holland having refused, the Premiership it is said was offered to Ld. Fitzwilliam, who also declined, not it is imagined from any indisposition to the cause, but because he had resolved (as Swan tells me he told him in person) not to take office at all, though he would sit in the Cabinet. Whether these attempts of the Prince were the effect of a resolution to get rid of the pressure of his bullying Lds., or merely of his original intentions, we don't discover, but such are the facts.

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The attendance of Ld. Grenville Levison caused some speculation, as he is the representative of Canning.

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However, whatever might be that negotiation, it has failed for the present, as Bourne told Sir R. Bickerton that there was no chance at all of Canning's taking office, and Ellis, Canning's other friend and confidant, openly denies it. Ld. Arthur Somerset said he (Canning) was out of favour at Carlton House;—why, we don't know, for surely he has paid largely enough for it.

At the House. King's progress to amendment has a visible effect upon our opponents. Lambe, with whom I have scarcely acquaintance, observed upon it to me, and hoped, seemingly with great seriousness, that he would recover before the Bill got through,—it would prevent much useless and degrading contest. This, for so great a friend of Carlton House, I thought extraordinary; but, in fact, their difficulties about the Government are such, that it would be the best release possible for them.

Jan. 15*th*, 1811. — Walked home with Perceval from the House: much talk. I told him, with unfeigned regard and pleasure, the various things said of him by all parties, and congratulated him on the spreading of his fame. I said, as he was going out, I might do this without any gross flattery.

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I mentioned (what my City friends enabled me to know) the high opinion of him there entertained, as a

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worthy successor of Mr. Pitt. He replied, in all that unaffected simplicity of heart and manner that belongs so peculiarly to him, that, though he could not fail being pleased with all that his friends told him, he really could not help wondering that anything he had done should have been thought so praiseworthy, that what he had to do was the merest plain-sailing in the world—his duty had no difficulties: that, as to the debates, he spoke from a brief (meaning Mr. Pitt's brief). He said there was an excellent account from Windsor, but that the King's state could hardly prevent the Bill from passing. Meantime they had settled the squabble at Carlton House; and he understood Ld. Grey had agreed to be First Ld. of the Treasury, with the approbation of Ld. Grenville, but upon a condition made by them both, that the Prince should no more listen to his secret adviser, Sheridan, &c. (by which, as Ld. Liverpool told me the next day, Ld. Moira was meant, though I know not why). This looks like union with a vengeance. Perceval asked why they disliked Canning so much, and thought he would have united with them. I told him all I had heard of the opposition of the old Foxites; and added what I learned had been the report among the lawyers — that Romilly had declared he never would hold office under any Government of which he (Canning) formed a part. Perceval said, this comes of his not being able to restrain himself in the House, and of his burst upon Romilly the other night about Mr. Pitt. I thought it the most imprudent piece of splendid folly I ever witnessed.

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Perceval confirmed all we had heard of the anger of the two Lds. at the Prince's rejecting the answer they had drawn for him, and his preference of Sheridan's. And while upon this subject, I recollect Yorke told me, yesterday, that Ld. Grey openly expressed his disapprobation of it to Ld. Liverpool himself, in the House of Lds. Standing with him at the fire, after some talk, Ld. G. asked him what he thought of the answer? The other replied, "Not much, either of the matter or the composition." That, said Ld. G., is exactly my opinion.

Jan. 17*th*, 1811.—Met Ld. Liverpool riding to-day. He confirmed to me what Perceval said yesterday, as to Ld. Grey's stipulation before he would accept the Prince's offer. Ld. L. said Ld. Moira was meant, though not named.

At the House, on the Regency Bill. They attempted to reduce the time of the restrictions to six months; but we beat them hollow. It is amazing how Perceval fights. He was more forcible than ever, and beat Canning and Tierney out of the field. The latter, who had most attacked him, was even humbled; and, in reply, observed, that he had made one of Mr. Pitt's speeches. Several, particularly Canning's friends, wished *he* would make Pitt's speeches. The superiority he has assumed and keeps is confessed by every one; by none more than opposition, some of whom (the younger men), as Sir George Warrender and Brand, even cheered him. Our majority increases, and all attributed to him, though they complain he is so ill seconded. Upon the Household questions, which

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it was expected we should lose, all remained firm; and, after three unsuccessful divisions, they let us adjourn, though delay is death to them.

Ld. Temple was very gloomy all night: to cheer him, while standing with Freemantle in the waiting-room, I asked what he thought of Perceval. He smiled, but did not much like the question, and attempted to squib. Freemantle, however, allowed Perceval a most determined and gallant fighter, and particularly powerful that night. He has besides, said he, a most determined steady crew, who will follow him through anything, even worse than this. I said it was all owing to his personal character, which attached everybody to him, and the extraordinary ability he had shown, which made that attachment an honour. Freemantle allowed it, and confessed we had beaten them to-night. This was, however, the universal sentiment in the course of the evening; and it was a little curious to observe how well pleased most, whether friends or foes, seemed to be at the little way Canning made. The members everywhere around me observed with pleasure Ld. Castlereagh opposing his amendment, and hoping that he never would agree with him in anything; they openly expressed that his conduct to that Ld. ought never to be forgotten. Several observed he had not got on an inch since last session. Warrender again said he would desert his party if they allowed him to join them; but of this there seemed no speculation. Indeed, the general opinion seems now to be, that we are not to go out, the King's recovery being so likely.

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General Gascoign told me an odd story of his situation with Canning. They thought me, said he, dead *with* them: quite a sure card, and all this upon the strength of a dinner or two which Dent gave me with Canning's friends. Dent had, I believe, sold me to them. I, however, soon undeceived them, not at all approving of Canning's conduct, and refused to enlist; since which, Canning and I don't speak, although before we were intimate.

Jan. 18*th*, 1811.—Heard from, and wrote largely to, Ld. Lonsdale. Ld. Lowther and F. Robinson dined with me; in the highest spirits possible at the following and loud support which Perceval received last night, and the total overthrow of his antagonists in argument and eloquence.

At the House, on the clauses of the Bill. Flat and dull throughout—not a division, and scarce a struggle. Perceval accused by Whitbread of being dazzled with prosperity. Exceedingly good this to a Minister supposed to be going out, and a full proof of his recent victories. He is certainly prosperous in the fidelity of his friends; upon which the old Foxites observe, without scruple, to his advantage, in comparison with that shown to Ld. Grenville when retiring in 1806.

The King so well that he walked out on the terrace yesterday. This depresses them. Freemantle said, half jesting, half in earnest, they had settled the Government; but, added he, after last night's demonstraton of such confidence in Perceval, we must, in our own defence, dissolve the Parliament. I said,

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they would never be able to carry on the Government without it. We shall get rid, said he, of several of your gentlemen who have no right to seats except through office; and I could name several of a certain party who would be instantly broken up by it. They got theirs solely by belonging to Administration, though they do so no longer. I saw he meant Canning; and his remark on both him and Huskisson is well-founded, since they only came in in consequence of having joined a Ministry whom they deserted. He said Canning's was the greatest personal party-following in the House,—that he had thirteen,—that they must be dissipated, &c. I observed that Perceval's would be infinitely greater when in opposition. He said, yes, but *that* as the chief of a great party; *I* mean to speak only of *personal friends*, and those Canning will find lessened by a dissolution. There is some truth in this; and I mentioned it, exactly as it happened, to Ld. Binning, one of this party. He was indignant; called it a paltry piece of cunning which would not succeed. Does he think, said he, he can keep out such a man as Huskisson, or Ellis, or Canning himself? Perhaps I or S. Bourne might find a difficulty, but all the rest will be returned. Dent's fortune secures him; Jolliffe has two seats of his own, &c. &c. In a party point of view, I was not sorry to see his Ldship. take it as he did; but for the sake of the country, everything that militates against the oligarchic faction is a gain.

Jan. 19*th*, 1811. — Dined at Manners Sutton's.

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Everybody, as usual, enthusiasts in favour of Perceval. Sutton said what was very true — "This crisis will now make the world understand and approve Perceval as those only who know him have hitherto done." Arbuthnot sent me a letter to the Drakes, which he begged me to send express to them, into Buckinghamshire, in my name, and to intreat they would attend on Monday on the Report. I thought the style of his letter too much like distress, and wrote one myself, stating the exertion of the other side, and that all we had done would be lost if our friends did not attend; that upon the supposition he was a friend to the Bill, I wrote to acquaint him, and begged him to communicate the same to his brothers. To my concern, my messenger knocked him up at Shardelos at two o'clock in the morning. Nevertheless he wrote a handsome letter back, that he had supported the Bill all through, in the hope that the King's illness was only temporary; that he should be sorry if the exertions of Government were to fail at last; and, though he had come down on business, which would detain him some days, he would manage to return. His brother was still in town. This, from one who I know was very friendly to the last Administration, and was supposed, during his worthy father's life, to have given the present Government a very reluctant and unsteady support, is a strong proof of the estimation in which Perceval must be held.

From Arburthnot's account, we are making great

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exertions, and they are not more than necessary. Peel, Under Secretary of State, said, at Sutton's, yesterday, he had sent express to his father, into Staffordshire.

At the Lady Bathurst's. Mr. Bragge Bathurst had given them an account of Perceval's great superiority lately in the House. He said his following and applauses were equal to what he had known in Mr. Pitt's time. C. Adams (Ld. Sidmouth's connection), whom I joined in the park, spoke the same language: he said he seemed to rise with every difficulty. He had sometimes opposed him, but he possessed all his admiration. He heard we were all going out; and that Ld. Erskine had said, if they came in but for an hour, yet they ought to come in; but they would not dissolve. I then said they must be at the discretion of Perceval; to which he agreed.

Dined at Ld. Mulgrave's. Lds. Palmerston, Clive, and Lowther, Long, Pole, Gen. Phipps and Holmes. The talk wholly political, and on the times. What I observed was, the union founded upon esteem of individuals and a general sense of right, which seemed to pervade all. Whatever happened, all, for themselves (and, in opinion, for their friends), hoped and expected to keep together. Enthusiastic for such a leader as Perceval. A general sentiment against Canning, and a general pleasure that his schemes had not succeeded. Everybody understood that he was rejected in the new arrangement. Pole believed,

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upon what he thought authority, that Lord Moira was to go to Ireland as Viceroy and Commander-in-Chief. Various conjectures as to arrangements. The general one, that, as none of the other pretensions could be settled, a compromise had taken place; and that Ld. Fitzwilliam was to be Premier, Ch. Wynne Secretary for Ireland. We certainly talked of all our opponents with very little respect of persons, and whatever there *was* inclined much more to the Foxites than to the Grenvilles.

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Whitbread seemed to have most of our suffrages as at least an honest, though a dangerous man. It was said by some (I think Ld. Clive), and supported by Pole, that he had expressed such high respect for Perceval as to say, that he was the only man in the House of Commons whom he would act under. But their fundamental principles are too wide asunder. We all feared the change of measures as to Portugal, which we hoped to be strong enough to prevent or to carry an impeachment, if not able to prevent it. Ld. Moira's appointment, if it takes place, Pole thought a political banishment. The Prince made it personal to himself, at the instigation of the two Lds., whose purpose is obvious enough. It was said the Duke of York was to be restored to the office of Commander-in-Chief. They did so many absurd things for such wise men, and committed suicide in so many ways in 1806, that one could believe anything; but surely no folly could exceed this, added to the employment of Ld. Chatham, which is also talked of; both of them

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men once forced out by their assuming the semblance of public virtue in the House. To force them in again, when Ministers, for a mere party purpose, will open the eyes of half the nation, if they were not open before!

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Long took me home. We remarked on the pleasure it was to see so many well-conditioned men all united together *toto corde*, in consequence of their cause, and of their love and esteem for their leader; and that Perceval's character and talents would do wonders in the House; and that it was a pleasure as well as honour to follow him out of office. Long then observed that, though it was known he had no good opinion of Addington, and that he thought he had behaved (though, it must be owned, in a difficult situation) with ingratitude and want of good faith to Mr. Pitt, yet he had conducted himself throughout this business with such perfect propriety and disinterestedness, that he should wish to see an union between Perceval and him. I said many would be for it and some against it. He replied, "Canning! but Canning is so lowered that Perceval need not (especially now that his own merit is so well known) feel under the necessity of cultivating him." I said I thought so too, but that I meant Ld. Lonsdale. He owned that would be a difficulty, but that he had sometimes in letters expressed his opinion on the subject. It happened, I told him, that I had done the same, and the same opinion too. We hoped Ld. Lonsdale would see the necessity of sometimes sacri-

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ficing to the general interests of a great party. We both agreed, upon the subject of our friend, that we lamented he had adopted such an opinion of the strength which Ld. Melville could bring to any Administration, and hoped he would by degrees see this himself.

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Lord Palmerston told me that not only Ld. Fitzharris was with us in vote, but Ld. Malmesbury also in opinion; which, considering his conduct in 1789, is a compliment to the rectitude of the measure.

Jan. 21*st*, 1811.—Ld. * * * a rat, but so ashamed of himself that he actually covered his face with his hands when Ld. Mulgrave told him in the division. Ld. Mulgrave was so surprised at seeing the side he took, that he pointed the place where his friends were, thinking he had mistook. He said in confusion I am obliged to do this. Ld. M. said the House of Commons had upon the whole behaved nobly, and the turncoats were chiefly in the Lords! Croker, who had been to consult Heberden at Windsor on his own health, had much conversation with him on the state of the King. Heberden said he went on as well as could possibly be expected, and almost as rapidly as they could wish; that he was for the most part himself—was as if his mind had been clouded with some confusion but cleared again. As to politics he never talked of them, seemingly as improper to his physicians, rather than because he did not or could not turn his mind to them; that in all things he seemed to be in full possession that he

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was King, and fully impressed with all royal feelings; and that when the time came that he meant to speak of state matters, he was sure they would hear of it first, by his saying send me the Chancellor. Croker afterwards added that Herberden thought the Chancellor ought to be actually sent for in a week or ten days.

At the House on the report of the Bill. Subject exhausted, yet all the leaders spoke with some cheering on both sides. The House adhere to Perceval. We beat them by 212 to 190. Many had paired, but many came up hundreds of miles. I asked Ch. Wynne when he went to Ireland; he said it was too far to go merely to come back again, and therefore not at all. J. W. Ward told me what he called a *bon mot*, and seemed much to enjoy, of Lady * * *'s He had said there was difficuly in getting people to accept of offices just now; she answered, she thought Ld. Grenville would be not unwilling to accept them *all* in his own person. Oh strange union, where this, by one of their party, is thought characteristic and told with glee! I understand, however, that Tierney has confessed there is a difficulty. The Prince it seems wants them to accept, and they are afraid to accept. They are therefore reduced to tell the Prince, We would accept if it were to do ourselves good; but not when it is inconvenient, though to do *you* good. The remarkable part of the evening was a conversation with Brand, who came over to sit by me. Though he had spoken, and strongly, against us in the debate, he opened

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immediately upon the merits of Perceval; he admired his conduct and ability so much, that if he had ever given him a vote in his life, he said, he would have supported him on these questions; that his character had enabled him to commence the stand he had made, and character had attached his party so much to him as to continue the majority all through; that this sentiment was not peculiar to him in the opposition, but partaken by many, indeed all, without exception, admired him*; that this would give him extraordinary influence as the head of an opposition, which must give great trouble to the new Government when it was formed; nevertheless he thought we were not going out, it was too dangerous to come in; probably, he added, laughing, the Regent will keep Perceval three months as his father's Minister, and then "fall so much in love with him" (that was the expression) that he will continue him as his own. He then entered much on the comparison between him and Canning, the latter of whom he

* I have preserved these recorded expressions in Perceval's favour on the part of his opponents, because, being put down with no view to immediate publication, but for *future* perusal, they serve to show what was the contemporary opinion of his talents and character; and furnish a key to the problem of the continuance and success of his administration under so many circumstances of difficulty, and in the face of so talented an opposition. Every administration may be said to have a particular characteristic on which its strength depends: with one it is Royal, with another popular favour; with a third, family connexion; with a fourth, borough influence; with a fifth, the eloquence of its chief; with a sixth, his honesty; with a seventh, the disruption of opposition, and consequent impossibility of making a change. With Perceval, it is evident from the above, and many other passages, that it was this high opinion of his honesty, as well as talent, that united his friends, and earned the respect of his opponents.

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said, spite of his abilities, was discarded by all parties; that he could tell me it was finally resolved not to admit him in the new Government, into which some on account of those abilities had wished to introduce him. I may say, he observed, that I had some share in the rejection; I protested against such a junction whenever it was talked of, I told my friends it would ruin *that*, without which they never could make a Government, character; that the eyes of a great number whom they could by no means command were upon them; I bade them look at the back rows on the side of opposition, and asked them if they could count such men as Nicholson, Calvert, Halsey, Coke of Norfolk, &c., &c., as their regular supporters, unless it was from an esteem for their character, and if that character would not sustain a deep wound in the outset if, for the sake of power, they allied themselves with a man who had deserted all alliances he had ever made; that he had deserted them before, after a treaty made, and had then deserted Perceval, after endeavouring to undermine Castlereagh, his conduct to whom had injured himself with the public in the most serious manner, in having allowed him to retain his office and undertake that melancholy expedition, five months after he had declared him so incapable that he put his own resignation upon his dismissal; that to ally with such a man could be only lowering themselves in public esteem without gaining anything but a hollow support. I would inform Canning myself, he added, that this was my

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protest, if he asked me. The same opinion he believed was urged with equal strength by Coke of Norfolk, and many others, so as to have produced the abandonment of all thoughts of connecting themselves with him; that a few young men were favourable to him, such as Vernon (probably through his uncle, Ld. G. Levison), but not many; that he was informed Lambe was among them, which surprised him, as Lambe and he were so alike in sentiment that they sometimes deputed each other as their representatives in absence, and that this circumstance had been mentioned as a reason to shake his opinion; but inquiring of Lambe, he found that it was without any foundation; Lambe protesting that though he liked his company in private he had no opinion of any alliance with him as a public man. Such, after all, in the long run is the fate of those who sacrifice the manly virtues of openness and fidelity to their engagements, or who are eager to seek for distinctions which as they conceive may release them from the letter of those engagements. I did not fail to observe that this remarkable conversation with Brand tallied exactly with all that Ld. Kensington said to me on the same subject about a week ago. (See Jan. 12th.) Brand, however, amidst all this praise of Perceval thought him extremely imprudent in arguing this matter of the Household, which was the chief subject of the night's debate; and if he meant upon the score of pleasing or displeasing the Prince he was right. He had done enough it might seem for his duty before

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in moving it as a resolution, which Ld. Gower's amendment threw out (see Jan. 4th), and he ought, perhaps, have conciliated the Prince by leaving it there. His sense of duty, however, prevailed, and observing (what in fact is most observable) that notwithstanding such temptations as the rising sun presented, he had acquired instead of losing strength in the House, he made use of it perhaps to the ruin of himself to defend the cause of a supposed falling master. The House did stand by him, and in fact thus threw out Ld. Gower's amendment upon the original resolution, which, except as to the power of dismissal in the Queen, it left nearly in its original state. The victory was the greater because the most unfair means, neither more nor less than a breach of a plainly understood promise, was practised to prevent it.* On the Thursday after the last division the opposition leaders said across the table, that they should divide no more. Very many of our country friends, after consulting with Perceval or Arbuthnot, immediately left the town.

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On the next day Ponsonby gave notice that he would take the sense of the House on the Monday following. In the mean time they sent all over the country for their friends. We did the same, and poetical justice,

* *Note by Mr. Ward.*—I did not hear them, but Long told me the fact at Arbuthnot's dinner on the 22nd; complaining of it as a breach of faith, which, during his whole Parliamentary life, he had never witnessed. It was said, the Prince insisted upon it. When I was mentioning this to Yorke, that *vrai chevalier*, Sir Richard Bickerton, asked pointedly if it was in the power of a Prince to make a gentleman forfeit his word?

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as has been seen, was fairly done. In the course of Perceval's speech he recited some very beautiful lines of Sheridan's in a manner that charmed the whole House. They were from the epilogue to Semiramis, which was acted for the benefit of decayed actors, and bade the audience go from the contemplation of fictitious to real scenes of misery, and introduced them, just after alluding with great feeling to the affecting pictures of fallen greatness (more sensibly and irritably alive because it was fallen) in Richard II. and Queen Catherine in Shakspeare, and then bade us (as Sheridan had done before) to turn to the real scene of Royal distress so immediately before us. Everybody was so struck with the manner, tone, and feeling of the recital, that his opponents (particularly Sheridan) complimented him in their speeches upon it. But as they also added that they did not understand how the lines applied, I have mentioned it here, the rather because, in a conversation which General Phipps had with Sheridan the next day upon the subject, the latter confessed that he had not understood the application, but *did then*.

> "Thou child of sympathy whoe'er thou art,
> That with Assyria's queen hast wept thy part,
> Go search where living sorrows ask relief,
> Go, while thy heart yet beats with fancied grief:
> Thy lips still conscious of the recent sigh,
> The graceful tear still ling'ring in thine eye,
> Go, and on real misery bestow
> The blest effusions of fictitious woe!"

In my conversation with J. W. Ward, he said he hoped there would be a good rattling opposition immediately, and no pretence of a cold support; he dis-

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liked the House when there was no opposition. I desired him not to make himself uneasy; that I had no doubt Perceval would immediately commence a stand at the head of 100 members. That when we went out before, I, for one, from absolute principle and respect for Ld. Grenville, had deprecated opposition, though I, of course, voted with my party; but that Ld. Grenville had now shown so much insolence, and, at the same time, such folly, had proved himself so completely to be the mere head of a faction, that all respect was gone, and a wish to see him chastised only remained. That this sentiment was participated by every one of my friends, who were infinitely more inclined to the old Foxites than to the Grenvilles, who were fully as turbulent without their good qualities. Ward said Ld. Grey was certainly a great man, and might command the respect of any parties under him; and seemed not at all displeased at this feeling towards the Grenvilles. Talking of Canning, to whom he is supposed to incline, he allowed that he had put himself very low, and had thrown away the finest game a man could have.

Jan. 22*nd*, 1811.—Not able to make a House. Third reading put off. King better. Dined at Arbuthnot's. Ld. Palmerston, Messrs. Wellesley Pole, Long, Ford, Robinson, Goulbourn, W. Fitzgerald, Becket, Manners Sutton, Herries. A perpetual stream of discussion, and astonishing spirits at the thoughts of our party having reaped all the glory in a conflict which strips us of office. Becket said that Canning was, however, wise, for *he* gave out he would have

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nothing to do with *them*. Herries told me an anecdote which curiously marks the irritability they are in. It having been reported by young Stockdale, the bookseller, that some one had said Huskisson had changed the opinions contained in his famous pamphlet on the Bullion Committee, and had expressed himself sorry for those opinions, Messrs. Huskisson and Canning called upon Stockdale, the latter, as Stockdale related, as a witness to what should pass (whether professing to be so or not I did not understand). They insisted upon knowing the name of the person who, it seems, had spread this foul calumny. The bookseller very prudently replied, that he never gave up the names of any one who related any little anecdotes to him or in his hearing; and appealed to Canning himself, whom he had sometimes refused to give up, when in that situation, to others. They were both, he said, much agitated; and Huskisson replied "Since you won't tell me his name, I desire you will inform the person, whoever he may be, that it's a lie." Stockdale again wisely said, that he would inform him he was mistaken, but would deliver no such message. Herries, on the subject of Huskisson's leaving Perceval in the way he did, blamed him without reserve: said P. had no sort of right to be aware of it; that he was with him when he received Huskisson's letter informing him of it, which he threw down upon the table with the utmost surprise and concern, saying, "This is the worst and most unexpected stroke of all."

Jan. 23rd, 1811.—At the House upon the third reading. King still better. The opinion seems con-

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firmed on the other side that they cannot accept. Calcraft came and sat by me, he said he was not at all in the secret, but thought nothing at all was settled. I told him I was packing up; he said I might unpack for we should not be out. I said it was hard to disappoint us when we took such pains to be out; he replied that we did adhere together wonderfully, and that our leader deserved it—but he would be a bold man who would venture to dissolve the Parliament; he thought that if there was a change the King would recover before those who vacated could be reseated. Nevertheless Swan, who with General Phipps dined with me, informed us that a friend of his whom he could not name had been the day before with Lds. Grey and Albemarle, who told them that Ld. Grey had had a conference with the Prince upon the propriety of dismissing the present Administration, and that the Prince had exclaimed "By God! they shall not remain one hour!" That his friend to fix the expression had asked if it really was so strong, and the Lds. upon this recollection given to them confirmed it. The world will compare this with the Prince's answer, and his former declarations upon his intended continuation of the existing Government, and try his sincerity*, or at least his prudence, by that test. They will also appreciate those motives which can thus resent, by the heir of the crown, the stand

* It would not be difficult to argue, that the sincerity of his original declaration, followed by its fulfilment, was rendered more remarkable by these words of mortification and anger in the mean time.

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made in defence of the crown. It is mere nonsense to say, as all have said on the other side, that to weaken the Regent is to weaken the Throne, when the Throne is full.

Perceval told me in the House to-day that if they would not come in it would reduce him to a most difficult and uncomfortable situation, in forcing upon him the decision of the question of resignation. I said he must nevertheless go through with it and also decide against resigning, that he was the King's servant and must not abandon him, unless by force. He said nothing as to his resolution, but seemed to acquiesce in the observation.

* * * told me at dinner that he had asked Ld. Granville Leveson as to his visit to Ld. Holland ten days before, when the Prince had called upon him also, and Ld. G. L. replied that it was purely accidental, to inquire after him in the gout, and that nothing whatever past.

Jan. 24th, 1811.—We lost the proxy question last night in the Lds. by two. Strange to say from the circumstance that four or five peers were dining with Ld. Huntley, prepared to go down, but too late; and Ld. Arden and Ld. Westmoreland themselves locked out, the latter with one or two proxies in his pocket. The King still better and we hope soon will be convalescent. An interesting walk with Sturges Bourne who accompanied me home, and I in return went back again with him to his house. We had not met, at least confidentially, for a very considerable time, and I thought

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him so entirely Canning that I studiously (and I told him so) avoided all talk with him upon party matters. To my infinite surprise I found that he and Canning were estranged, though by no means to my surprise that it was owing to the usual self-sufficiency of the latter. I said to Bourne that I found Sir R. Bickerton had asked him at once what I from the situation between us, upon Canning's subject, would not have taken the liberty of doing, whether Canning was to take office with the opposition, and that he had replied there was no chance of it. He said he had made that reply on the part of himself, but that as for Canning he knew nothing of him, and had not even seen him for several weeks. I said we had observed he had not attended the House, though upon such interesting questions, but that we had attributed it not to any disagreement in sentiment with Canning, but to a feeling in respect to Mr. Pitt's conduct in 1789, and perhaps something to his situation in regard to his Ministerial friends; that I thought his confidence with Canning continued nevertheless unimpaired, and that I was sorry when any friendship was broken up, &c., &c. He said he regretted, as he could not but regret the rupture of a friendship of two and twenty years, but could not help entertaining other feelings also besides those of regret. That he felt, no doubt, obligation to Canning, but not to an unlimited extent; that he had repaid it in his attachment to him and proofs of that attachment, with quite sufficient sacrifice of himself

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to make him think there was a point at which he might stop and consider what was due to others; that he had regard and obligation to others as well as to Canning, and supposed his feeling toward them was not forgiven; that he had separated himself from Perceval, whom he liked and esteemed, to follow Canning, but did not think he was bound to follow him through all lengths and against his own opinion; that the extent of his obligation to Canning was the having introduced him to the friendship and favour of Pitt, and brought him forward, through him, into public life; this was all: and that in return he had followed him upon all occasions, whatever might have been his own opinion; that I knew he had in 1801 (under Mr. Addington) refused office when pressed upon him, and when it would have been very agreeable to him to have taken it, that in the separation between him and Perceval last year he had not hesitated a moment which to prefer, without even inquiring who was in the right; that for this purpose he laid down his office and was willing to lay down his seat, having offered it back to Rose, who very handsomely desired him to retain it; that this handsome treatment however, and his regard for Perceval and other friends, did not make him feel the less toward them or think the less that he had made some sacrifices, and that when Canning was pursuing a course in his opinion wrong, that the time was come when he might judge for himself; that whether it was for having ventured to differ from him sometimes and expressed that difference, he knew not, but Canning had long

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withdrawn himself from those habits of communication with him I had formerly remembered; it would astonish me, when I heard, that during the whole time he was in office, which was two years and a half, he had dined with him but once, and had had otherwise very little intercourse with him, that he indeed really felt this might arise from the pressure of business as he was was much absorbed in his office, but that he had even not received from him any hint of his intentions respecting his rupture with Perceval*—which he was in fact left to learn from the latter, who confided it to him as a friend, but whom yet he felt forced to leave; in point of fact he had told him whatever might be the merits of the case, if Canning separated he felt obliged to separate too; that he had done all he could to keep them together afterwards, and blamed every step C. took which tended to widen the separation; that he felt and knew Canning to be unpopular and had told him

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not to be anxious at all about office, but to look only to his reputation [I certainly did not collect whether Bourne meant the ill reputation into which he had fallen, or generally to increase his reputation]; that by degrees communication upon this or any subject became less and less, and, since he (Bourne) had taken his line upon the present question, had entirely ceased; that in point of fact he agreed with him in principle

* *Note by Mr. Ward.*—The reason is plain, he was afraid of entrusting his design to a man of such excellent sense and such superior virtue.

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upon the question itself, being an enemy at this time to restrictions upon the Prince; that he believed Pitt himself in 1789 had not originally intended to contrive or adopt all the machinery which afterwards took place, but that it was suggested by Thurlow, and he adopted it in his own defence upon being attacked, affronted, and ill-used by the opposite party*; he however thought Canning was impolitic in pushing things so far, not only in opposition to Perceval whom he wished him yet to look to, but in bringing the Prince's name so forward as opposed to the King's, which, together with the feelings he had before described in regard to his old friends, and to what Rose in particular might feel, determined him to stay away, which he supposed Canning (notwithstanding the little right he had, considering what had passed, to take any thing ill) had not forgiven. He might indeed be mistaken, for having expressed something like these sentiments lately to Ld. Binning, he had reason to think he had communicated them to Huskisson, and very soon after the latter, accompanied by Canning, had called to ask after his sick child, but that before that no attempt had been made for a considerable time at any sort of intercourse. I told him he had said nothing of Canning that did not perfectly accord with everything I had heard or thought of him; that from what I could collect, not to follow him implicitly was sin past forgiveness; that he had broke with others, who, with so much to disapprove, had not chosen to

* *Note by Mr. Ward.*— *I* cannot think so ill of a measure in principle, at least, in the very essence and spirit of the constitution!

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approve his conduct; that he seemed to me to have forfeited all his connections, that is all his great connections, while Perceval, whom he would not allow to be his equal, had gained them; that in particular I knew Ld. Lonsdale at one time thought him the only man after Mr. Pitt's death with whom he was likely to form an alliance in party, but that since the transactions of last year he had withdrawn all idea of it, and that for this Canning, I had heard, viewed him with great hostility; that Ld. Lonsdale viewed his present conduct with no friendly sentiments, thinking it far from disinterested; and that he had said to me in a letter, if he thought it would recommend him in the quarter where he wished to be recommended he would find himself much mistaken; that we observed the fallen situation of Canning in the House, when having lost all his leading connections he contented himself to give his little senate laws, composed of the few young men over whom he reigned. I added that I understood his situation was not better with the parties in opposition, with whom it was supposed he was prepared to join, but that they had all discarded him: in proof of this I related Brand's conversation with me, which had been by no means in confidence. Bourne allowed that Canning was unpopular to a great degree, and that he had not retrieved the false step of last year, a time in which he (Bourne) had sided with him when most were disposed to censure him, which made him think the more of their present situation together; that he believed he lived chiefly with Ellis, Huskisson, and Ld. G.

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Leveson, who perhaps did him no good, but that he thought Huskisson was likely to keep him right; that as to Ld. Lonsdale, Canning's complaint of him was not so much for condemning, as refusing to hear him; that he had sent him his case and afterwards called upon him, having begged to explain himself, but was refused admittance; and in regard to the Prince, he knew he had sent a message to Canning, thanking him for his Parliamentary conduct towards him. Speaking of his (C.'s) feeling towards Perceval, he said he was a little hurt at some things upon the first separation, such as partial statements and the disclosure of correspondence, and that long after he had resigned he had offered to form part of the Government under Ld. Wellesley, which offer he believed he had made known to Perceval. I said that I knew Ld. Lonsdale had received and read with care, and heartily disapproved, the case Canning had sent to him by way of defence, and that thinking every explanation he had made in writing had rendered the thing worse, I supposed, but did not know, he imagined a meeting could be of no use; that as to Perceval's showing correspondence, he was forced to do it in his own defence, not merely to explain the reason of a rupture which had occasioned the new Government with himself for head, but because Canning had himself shown the correspondence to all those [of my own knowledge to Dundas and Milnes, who decided against him on his own showing, to H. Wellesley who sided with him, and of course, as I suppose, to Ld. Wellesley, Ld. Gower, &c. &c. &c.] whom he wanted to bring over, or whose approbation he

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at least wished to conciliate. What was of most consequence, however, to understand, was the real nature of his offer to keep office under any arrangement, if that left him short of Premier; that I knew to a certainty Perceval at least never thought so, and I asked him to point out the time. He said that he had no business, and would not incur the delicate responsibility when Perceval offered him to choose the Premier of making that choice, and hence he said nothing, not merely of Ld. Wellesley, but of any other Peers, but that afterwards he had declared his willingness to act under Ld. Wellesley, he had particular reasons of his own for not naming Ld. Wellesley when first called upon. I asked if he could point the time when the willingness was expressed, and I found it was at some time before he returned from his embassy in Spain. If so, as it is clear to all who investigated the circumstances at the time, that it was not before Perceval had been forced to form the new Government, that is not before he was himself declared Prime Minister, and Ld. W. remained in Spain long after, it is evident that the willingness amounted to nothing at all. Perceval could not so instantaneously disrobe and declare himself rash and incapable to all the world, and Canning's conduct in this respect remains exactly where it was. I joined Bourne, however, in lamenting as an injury, though not intended, to Canning the inadvertent representation that he had refused the offer made at the time, to declare, and act under, Ld. Wellesley as Premier. I joined him also in lamenting that the effort made in the summer to reunite him with Perceval had not

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succeeded.* The obstinacy and opposition of one man, Bourne said, prevented that from taking place. I answered, but that man was not Perceval. No, he said, he was aware of that; and really believed that Perceval wished to unite as broad an Administration as he possibly could, but though Ld. Sidmouth did not choose to forget old animosities he could assure me Canning did, and was prepared to sacrifice all recollections of the past, in order to form an efficient and strong Administration. At the same time he feared Ld. Melville could never forgive the Sidmouths so as to partake this sentiment. We both agreed, however, that no nation could ever be well administered if really men were so unpatriotic as well as so unchristian as never to forgive one another. At the same time I said there must be an opinion of sincerity, and however he and I might differ upon the conclusions to be drawn from Canning's conduct towards his late colleague, the conclusion, as he had allowed, was against him in the world. . .

. . . . . .

Bourne soon after coming home with me, company put an end to a conversation by far the most interesting I have had for a considerable time, even in this interesting period. With pleasure I have thought of this inter-

* *Note by Mr. Ward.*—And yet I don't know whether this ought to be lamented, for if really Ld. Sidmouth could have so cordially joined a man who had shown such unprovoked and determined animosity to him (for it is to be observed all the injury was on one side), how could a Cabinet be ever safe with such an intriguing spirit full of designs and working in concealment among them? What security would they have to-day that half of them were not to be dismissed to-morrow, or, what is worse, that their dismissal was not signed to take place six months hence?

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view with my old friend long since, for we were in a fair way of being estranged from one another, perhaps, for the rest of our lives. Such are the blessings of party divisions! It was not that we might be opposed to one another, but opposed for such a reason. Had he continued to think well of Canning, of whom we all think so radically ill, and had that led to a real severance from Perceval, there was little chance of preserving that intimacy of intercourse which has lasted for so many years, and which from the great and intrinsic worth of the object has often been my pride as well as my pleasure.

January 25th, 1811.—Dined at Perceval's. Lds. Palmerston, Burghersh, Sir T. Jones, Col. Strutt, Milns, of Pomfret, several other gentlemen, and the ladies of his family. Perceval was never more easy or more cheerful. I said Government had more the appearance of an opposition coming in than an Administration going out. Milnes answered it was because we knew the worst. We had not much politics, but all was pleasantly general. Burghersh entertained us with Spain and Portugal, whence he is arrived ill, after being at the battle of Busaco. He says the English soldier continues as much as ever to believe that he can beat two Frenchmen. During coffee I had a conversation with Perceval in private, in which he told me he had heard that Bourne did not think with Canning, and I mentioned to him such parts of yesterday's conversation as I thought not confidentially communicated. Perceval said that he was astonished at the slavery exacted by Canning from his followers, but it

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perhaps made him more master in the House of such power as he had. I observed I did not believe it would continue, that two or three, such as * * * and * * *, might perhaps follow, perhaps lead him, but I thought the others would not all continue implicitly to obey; that Dent's province was to give dinners, and he might not much care as to the steps taken, but Holt Lee was an honest fellow. Perceval said yes, but one who very willingly took his line. I answered not so, that I had known him long, was at college with him, knew him to be very sturdy, and also knew it had cost him much pains to think of separating from him; Canning's exactions, to which he had no sort of right, except such as arose from his opinion of himself, of which the world would judge as well as he, might perhaps revolt him, as it had done Bourne, who, I hoped, would in the end return to him. Perceval said, We certainly know him to have great delicacy and honour, and I am glad he appreciates our conduct to him, I acted to him as I would have done to my own brother, but the tyranny of Canning is what I cannot comprehend. He added he would leave Bourne's mind entirely to itself, convinced that he intended everything that was right, and would feel hurt, or revolt at any step on his part to quicken him one way or the other. I told him I thought he understood him most exactly, and had determined precisely as I would have taken the liberty to advise. He seemed to be not at all aware of what was doing on the other side, and in particular what Canning had determined, or what had been determined in respect

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of him, everything relating to which he was apparently desirous to hear.

January 26th, 1811.—We lost the question in the Lds. on the Household last night by twelve, being in committee there were no proxies.* The Duke of Montrose, however, whom I saw this morning, in discussing the matter said, unless there was a defection, they were sure of regaining their ground on Monday on the Report. He stopped me in Berkeley Square, and with mimic solemnity making a very low bow, said, Mr. W., I am sorry to be obliged to allow the distinction of character is all in your House, not in ours. You may affect to yield the precedence to us, and acknowledge our superiority with hats off in conferences, but the Gentlemen are among you. I told him his friend, Ld. Mulgrave, was of the same opinion, who, correcting himself, called the House the House of Lds. as distinguished from the House of Peers. He said that was very true, that he should be sorry to think all its members Peers. Finding I was going to Ld. Lonsdale's, he said he wished I would set before him the consequence of staying in town (he only came up yesterday), and of not going before Monday, as he said he should be obliged to do; he was too fond of hunting, so as to appear to neglect or be indifferent about politics, which in a man of his consequence was unfortunate to his friends; that he had endeavoured to represent this himself, but found

* The numbers were — For the arrangement proposed by Ministers, 96: Against it, 108. In the majority was not only Lord Grenville, but all the seven Royal Dukes. Lord Sidmouth voted with Ministers.

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it gave offence, and asked me if I could. I said Ld. L. had always allowed me to talk to him without reserve, that I knew he was particularly interested for the cause he espoused, that our whole party had been very staunch in the House of Commons, and that leaving his proxy, I supposed he thought he had a right to the pleasures he enjoyed in the country. The Duke replied he was too considerable a man to be allowed hunting in such a time, and that his absence alone gave occasion to our enemies to say he was lukewarm in the cause. I said, and I thought, this was true. I called in Charles Street immediately after, but found he had been off many hours sooner than I expected, and had left town at six that morning. On my return I met Ld. Temple, who had just come from Audley End, and wanted to know what was passing. We had a long walk together, more like persons of the same party than of such very opposite sentiments as ours. He seemed fairly to acknowledge the difficulties they were in as to accepting, though he would by no means allow that the King was so well; he said he believed him much recovered in body, but in his mind not at all improved; that, however, it would be folly to accept office to lay it down again in a few weeks. He wished he were either quite well or dead. Talking of Canning's joining them, he said he supposed I thought the only chance he had of redeeming his character, was his resolving to have nothing to do with them. I said quite the contrary, I thought he would be nothing unless he joined them.

January 27*th*, 1811. — The Chancellor and Mr.

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Perceval were at Windsor yesterday, and conversed with his Majesty a considerable time. His manner was hurried at first seeing (for he saw) them, but that soon went off, and in all other respects he was as much himself as ever. Whether anything and what passed politically, has not transpired, but he told them of his improvement in his sight with great pleasure. He said that Mr. Perceval having small features, and standing with his back to the light, he could not have known him without having heard his name, but the Chancellor he should have known directly without being announced. He could not tell whether this was owing to the medicines he had taken during his present illness, or to his having left off the old regimen, but he could not help hoping that Providence had yet other blessings in store for him.

January 28th. — The King still better. Nevertheless Yorke said it would be impossible for the Ministry to remain, not that they would do right to resign, but the Prince had made it impossible for himself not to dismiss them. He was confident we should go.

Dined at Bourne's, a domestic and pleasant party, little or no politics. Sheridan it seems is dismissed from all confidence or management at Carlton House. The two aristocrats forced this sacrifice on the Prince as a condition of their forgiving him for preferring Sheridan's answer to theirs. Admirable augury of the new Government where the head is bullied by his servants into an abandonment of his principles! Sheridan is furious, and tells it wherever he goes; he

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is however, we suppose, to be Treasurer of the Navy.

Jan. 29th, 1811.—Dined at Long's. Ld. Palmerston, Wellesley Pole, W. Fitzgerald, F. Robinson, &c. &c. The talk which all had heard was, that we were out. Long, however, thought not. The Prince had denounced us ten days ago, but the King's progress since must make a difference. I staid after the others, and heard from Long the particulars of the late negotiations with Ld. Holland, which probably he got from Ld. Stafford. Ld. Grenville, it seems, *asked* the Prince whether he should prepare the answer to the two Houses. The Prince said, "Yes; but I wish to have it this evening, for Adam and Sheridan are to dine with me." Ld. G. took this, but prepared the answer in concert with Ld. Grey, and sent it by the time; but with a note desiring that not one word should be altered.* The Prince having adopted Sheridan's, the two Lds. sent him a joint letter, telling him that, as they saw they had lost his confidence, they could be of no use to him, and would give him no farther trouble. The Prince, alarmed and finding he could not make a Government without them, had recourse to Ld. Holland to mediate a peace, which he did; the condition of which was, that there should be no secret advisers—in other words, and in fact, the sacrifice, as counsellors, of Ld. Moira and Sheridan.

Ld. and Ldy. Kenyon walked down to us this

* This can hardly be matter of surprise, if they were to be responsible for it. The marked preference for the advice of a personal friend was anything but a favourable omen for an intended Prime Minister.

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morning. He gave me an account of the debate in the Lds., where we carried all our points, and everything lost on Friday was regained. Ld. Grey was particularly able, and his attack upon the Chancellor bitter. The division, however, upon the latter personally, whether he should be one of the counsellors to the Queen, was triumphant, being 136 to 54. He forced the division himself by saying the non-contents had it. The Dukes of York, Cumberland, and Cambridge, Lds. Braybroke and Chichester, the Bp. of Exeter, and a great many others, left the opposition on this occasion. The three other royal Dukes, and many others, went away.

Jan. 30*th*, 1811.—Had an amusing letter from Lady Mary Lowther. She said the whole Cottesmore party had been assembled to see a great rat hunting by the side of a river, where they hoped to have drowned great numbers, to the great delight of all ministerial people; but the rats would not come out of their holes. These were neither more nor less than the Duke of Rutland's party from Belvoir, who have, all through Ld. Chatham, stood neuter upon the Regency questions. By the way, Ld. Chatham now sets up a strange story, that Ministers used him exceedingly ill last year in regard to his narrative, which, so far from intending to keep secret from them, as was argued in the House of Commons, he laid upon the table of the Cabinet, sealed up, with a desire that it might be read at the same time with Sir R. Strachan's, whenever he chose to present his; and that Mr. Perceval knew this. All one can say is, that if

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this were so, why did he not state this in the time when it was most important to him, and when, for the want of it, he was forced out by the House of Commons for underhand dealing?

Bourne and his wife, Ld. and Lady Kenyon, Mr. Montague, and the Lady Bathursts dined with us. Bourne said, if he had known this account of Ld. Chatham to be true, he would not have voted against him as he did.

Sat an hour with Lady Lonsdale to-day, who is come to town with Lady Elizabeth. Ld. Westmoreland came in and said, that the King's progress had been so great, in Perceval's opinion, when he saw him on Saturday, that, if he went on as rapidly only for three or four days more, he thought a Bill would not be necessary. He is, however, the only one of the Cabinet who thinks so, and Ministers in general even think themselves out. Monday, they say, will decide, when the speech is to be composed. Perceval's interview was, at the same time very satisfactory. The conversation was almost entirely political, and the King in complete possession of himself. Perceval *told him great advances had been made in the Regency Bill*, and detailed the line of conduct Government had pursued; upon which, the King gave him his most unqualified approbation of the whole. (What then becomes of the Duke of Cumberland's statement to Ld. Rolle?) The King asked the particular line taken by the different individuals and parties, and said, he supposed the whole of the opposition was ranged against him. Upon P.'s replying in the af-

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firmative, he clapped his hands and said, with great emphasis, "I am glad of that!"

Wrote very fully to Lady Mary and Ld. Lonsdale.

Jan. 31*st*, 1811.—Ministers continue to think themselves out. Met Sheridan coming out of Carlton House. He said the new Government was settled; but it was our own faults that we went: if we had not been so anxious about the d——d precedent of 1789 we might have remained in. He added, however, that he did not know we were going. I said the precedent was binding, and now the constitution was settled, the sooner we went the better.

Sat with Lady Lonsdale for some time. The reason Ld. L. left town so suddenly was to enable her to come up with Lady Elizabeth,—who is not better.

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Feb. 1*st*, 1811.—Lds. Grey, Lauderdale, and others, have published their protest to-day in the M. Chronicle against Ld. Eldon's name being one of the Council. The reason stated is his having formerly deceived the world on the state of the King, in 1804. Thus, without any cross-examination, or any examination at all of the physicians, from whose evidence it is merely an inference, without asking their explanation, with no inquiry into other facts, the whole subject being hereafter to be sifted by Parliament, and the parties concerned all of them stoutly denying the accusation, these wise and just Lds. decide that the parties are guilty, and publish the slander.

. . . . . .

Add this to Ld. Grenville's conduct, and then call

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them, as usual, the most consummate statesmen in Europe!

The report is, that the Prince means to see the King himself before he determines upon the dismissal of Ministers. Ld. Temple asked me if we meant to remain till we were killed, or to retire gracefully of our own accord. I said, certainly to be killed.

Wrote to Ld. Lonsdale.

Dr. Saunders told me the Prince was examining the physicians, ostensibly through Adam, but avowedly on his own part, having given credentials known to the physicians to Adam. He added, that not one of them but Willis had acted, he thought, with common sense.

The Chancellor and Ld. Liverpool went to Windsor to-day.

Feb. 2nd, 1811.—Ministers more than ever persuaded they are out. By Yorke's desire we signed several minutes at the Admiralty, to leave to our successors. He told me again the Prince had made it impossible for himself to allow us to stay in. Had a minute conversation with Long. He called me in as I was passing his house in the Park. Sir W. Scott there part of the time. Long said he had information from a friend of his, high on the other side, and who was much consulted, that a change would certainly take place; that the Prince forced it now, against the advice of many, such as the Grenvilles, and of Long's friend (probably Ld. Stafford); but the old Foxites had sided with the Prince and carried it,—his friend had used this remarkable phrase: they had set the

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Prince boiling on a great fire against Ministers, till he had boiled over, and now they could not take him off again; that there was to be more violent war than ever between the parties, of which the attacks upon the Chancellor and Perceval by Whitbread were the first indications; that they would take the chances either of the King's not recovering, or of being so worn out as to wish to retire and leave them to themselves; that they encouraged themselves in this by flattering themselves very foolishly, from the answers of the physicians, that the recovery was at least not at hand; that the Prince himself had actually sent for them to Carlton House, and examined them by Adam; that all said he would recover, but none would say when; that Willis in particular was asked whether he could answer for one month, for two, or for three, but he refused to answer at all; upon the strength of this they resolved to come in, and hoped to remain. Even Adam, who was seldom outrageous, hearing Long say in the House of Lords the King was infinitely better, and likely soon to be well, assured him very gravely he could take upon him to say, that he never would be himself again.

. . . . . .

The party, when they came in, we supposed would fly at measures all of them big with little less than fate to the empire,—peace with France, the surrender of the American question, the emancipation of Ireland, and the abolition of tithes,—all this accompanied with the usual pretensions to superior economy! [I hope they will at least be better made out than when they

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were last in, when, during their year of power, they did more unblushing jobs than are to be found among all Mr. Pitt's agents and sub-ministers throughout all his long Administration.] Sir W. Scott said he understood that the arrangements had been made without any communication with Romilly. Doubts, however, upon the whole of this conversation began to spring up in the course of the day. Goulburn told me there were bets at White's on the part of opposition that Ministers were to stay in, Ld. Henry Moor for one; he had himself betted with Lord R. Seymour that we should be out before the 25th March, and Ld. Robert had afterwards doubled the bet. Ministers, however, all think themselves out, and we think seriously of being at Hyde House in a fortnight. My garden, farm, plantations, and library are the prevailing ideas, and every purchase I have lately made, whether books or pruning-knives, are all with a view to my long-wished retreat. There could not be a more honourable occasion for it. We shall with joy list under Perceval, the man who has throughout the contest led us to victory, though its fruits, to the country at least, are unavailing. All this train of thought dissipated at the Speaker's, where we dined, a great party,—Lds. Mulgrave, Fitzharris, and, to my surprise, Jocelyn (the only one of the whole party who were not heart and soul together), a cloud of officers and office men. They all brought the extraordinary report that began to spread about five, that the Prince had broke all his arrangements with opposition, and meant to continue the present Government.

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The Speaker had heard it, and that a letter had actually been written to Ld. Grenville to acquaint him with the resolution. The King's decided amendment is the cause. Goulburn said, without suspecting it, he had observed in the faces of our women enemies, the evening before, that all was not right. It was at the Duchess of Gordon's, and the wives of opposition, he said, seemed *enragés*. In particular, that Lady * * * had said she wished much to have spoken to a friend of hers, but it was impossible to approach her, considering the person who was at her side! The person was Mrs. Perceval, and we laughed heartily at our own party quarrels and heartburnings being extended to the other sex. At the Opera the report at the Speaker's was confirmed, and Perceval, it seems, has acquainted the Chancellor, while sitting on the Resolutions in the House of Lds., by a note of what was in agitation. I do not find, however, that he had any authority to do so from the person concerned. The indifference of our friends about office was never more manifested: for no one seems in the least glad, except as it is an advantage gained over a faction against the King. Most of us are sorry to be so unsettled again.

Wrote largely to Ld. Lonsdale to-day.

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CHAP. XIII.

DIARY CONTINUED TO THE 20TH OF MARCH, 1811, WHEN IT IS INTERRUPTED.

Feb. 3rd, 1811.—THE reports of last night as to the Ministry confirmed. The Prince, it seems, has turned short round upon his friends, who seem confounded. The correct account, as Ministers have received it, is this:—The King being so very much recovered, and eager as to politics, the changes in agitation had already began to affect not his mind but his health. Of this the Queen very properly apprised the Prince; and on Friday (1st), laid before him, in a letter, the bad effects which she thought would arise from the intended changes. The Prince, as it would appear, without any advisers, at least with none of those with whom he had hitherto consulted, resolved instantly upon leaving things as they are; and in the evening, acquainted Ld. Grenville with his purpose by letter. This produced a meeting the next day at Carlton House, at which most of the heads attended, who were thus taken by surprise, and went to hear reasons why they were to remain out of *all* office, instead of receiving *particular* offices, as they expected. That the blow was sudden, and not in consequence of any advice of theirs, is clear from the letter of the Prince, first announcing it, on Friday. Ld. Moira, too, had desired, but the day before, that several gen-

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tlemen who were to go to Ireland with him, might be ready in ten days; and as Lowndes, member for Bucks, told me at my own table, that Lord Temple had written to Buckingham announcing that he should be down on Tuesday to canvas the county. The audience of explanation on the part of the Prince puts the matter, however, quite out of doubt; and it was after this audience only that the thing transpired. It did not, indeed, end here; for calling on Lord Mulgrave to-day he told me the thing was not yet certain, for that a second meeting at Carlton House was holding at that moment, in which it was very possible the Prince might be made to give up his resolution."

. . . . . .

Upon returning home, however, I found the affair was over. Shoals of public men of all parties beset the Palace, where a thousand inquiries were making after the King; and the whole of Pall Mall was crowded with knots of opposition, who had either been, or were conferring with those who had been at Carlton House. The result is that they are all in very bad humour; they said (in particular Freemantle) that he (the Prince) adhered to his resolution, a sign that they had endeavoured to shake it. Some said, sullenly, they wished he had found all this out before; others, as Ld. Selkirk, that he had ratted. Long observed that the ill-humour was by no means confined to those out of the opposition Cabinet. I have mentioned these things the more particularly, because the face put upon it in the M. Chronicle the next day, was in some measure a direct falsehood, and

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throughout a perversion of the truth. The pretence there endeavoured to make the world believe that they had all along been courted into office by the Prince, but that finding from the examinations of the physicians, which they too had advised (with that view or it means nothing), that the King's recovery was at hand, they expected, if they had not actually advised, the Prince to do as he did, and at the time that he did it.

In the streets it was not unpleasing to see the effect of all this, where crowds of all ranks were expressing their satisfaction that the Ministry was not to be changed. The courtiers at the Palace were at least on one side; and for the first time I heard the Speaker declare his sentiments upon it without any sort of hesitation, though seemingly with no wish of proclaiming it. We met him on the great staircase, where he stopped us, apparently having something to say, but seeing somebody pass too near us, he waited with an air of caution till he was gone, when he said in a lowered voice, the Prince's determination would give satisfaction to nine tenths of the country.

February 4th, 1811.—A letter from Lord Lowther. He says they are all in high spirits at Cottesmore, and think "the Prince will be afraid to oust us," and that in fact he will prefer the present Ministers to servants who require a pledge of their masters.

The last debate in the House, upon affixing the Seal to the Commission; Ponsonby again, and foolishly, called it a fraud and forgery, which called up the

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Speaker*, who spoke for the first time (being in Committee) on the subject, and called Ponsonby's a rash and inconsiderate expression. His argument was admirable, and galled opposition a good deal, many of whom sneered privately in return, and said it was a sign that the King's recovery was at hand, as the Speaker had at length broke silence. I walked home with Perceval, who agreeing with me upon the excellence of his speech, said he had not intended it that night at least, as he did not know of his (P.'s) intention to go into Committee.

The Prince has at length communicated his resolution to Ministers; he did it by letter last night to Perceval. The letter was distant, not to say ungracious, though Perceval himself, in speaking of it to me, was not of that opinion. It began by informing him that the time being now arrived, when in consequence of the provisions made by Parliament, it would be necessary for him to interpose in regard to Executive Government, he had considered what ought to be decided upon the subject, and that considering the state of his Majesty's health, so great an advance towards recovery having been made, he thought it wrong, whatever might be his own opinion upon them, that the measures which his Majesty had approved should be changed, and that he therefore had no intention to remove from their present situations

* The Speaker was the Right Hon. C. Abbott: the sneer upon his breaking silence is not well founded, as, while he professedly abstained from joining in general debate, as the best mode of rendering his official services satisfactory and effectual, this was a high constitutional question, affecting the House over which he presided.

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those whom he should find there. But he added* he should be wanting in that openness and candour, which he hoped had been the guide of his public life, if he did not at the same time observe, that it was with great reluctance he brought himself to do this, and he could not help lamenting that circumstances would not permit him consistently with his ideas of duty, to appoint a Ministry who possessed more of his confidence, and whose opinions were more congenial with his own. In commenting upon this letter, Perceval said he thought it was not more dry than could be expected, that he could not expect the Prince to jump into his arms. He seemed not displeased with the state of things, and said he believed upon the whole it was best for the country, though extremely awkward for himself, that he had no share in producing it, but it was occasioned by the gross mismanagement of our enemies; he believed them much out of humour with the Prince. I said the Prince could be in no very good humour with them, at least I could not believe that he would bear to be flogged like a schoolboy by his two masters, Grey and Grenville, and that I thought there might be something in

* The letter of the Prince to Mr. Perceval had evidently been only communicated in substance to Mr. Ward, as it is not couched in a tone so *brusque* as would be implied by what is stated above. The real words are,—"At the same time, the Prince owes it to the truth and sincerity of character, which he trusts would appear in every action of his life in whatever situation placed, explicitly to declare, that the irresistible impulse of filial duty and affection to his beloved and afflicted father leads him to dread [that] (? lest) any act of the Regent might in the smallest degree have the effect of interfering with the progress of the sovereign's recovery. This consideration alone dictates the decision now communicated to Mr. Perceval."

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what I had heard of their fear lest if he (P.) should be thrown personally much with the Prince, he might be taught to forget his anger. He laughed, and said he had a monstrous deal of antipathy to overcome before he could even get the length of being endured; but he believed that Ld. Grenville laboured under the same inconvenience, and that the ill-humour that had been expressed by them was impolitic, as it would certainly come round. I said the joy expressed by so many upon there being no change, was another touchstone in his favour. He replied that it was rather a touchstone of their love for the King; it had been reported that he had been appointed and seen the Prince, but he told me it was not so, though it must be in a very little time.

Wrote yesterday and to-day at large to Ld. Lonsdale.

February 6th, 1811.—Expecting an adjournment till Tuesday, I went to Hyde House, where in the interesting pleasures of the garden and farm, together with books, I passed three days alone, though anything but solitary. I had thought to have greeted this retreat in a very different manner, with all my company about me, and for an infinitely longer time. I was not, however, so suddenly estranged from the scenes that had lately passed, as not to read Doddington's Diary with considerable avidity. The various contending passions, the intriguing, the scandalous tergiversations which he describes, rendered him peculiarly interesting in a moment when I had just been witnessing exactly the same sort of scenes

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in the same place, and by the descendants (very little removed) in the same place. It is not for the first time that a faction has endeavoured to possess themselves of Carlton House and oppose it to St. James's. Probably Ld. Grenville and others have within a very few days only rehearsed the scene in which Doddington kissed the Prince of Wales's hand in expectancy for the Seals of the Southern Department, after the looked-for death of his father. In future, however, to the Prince, we must say there is now no sort of comparison to be made between his grandfather and him in every point of duty, moderation, and conduct.

Feb. 9th, 1811.—Left Hyde House to attend a dinner engagement at Ld. Kenyon's, where were Ld. and Lady Arden, Ld. and Lady Radstock, Lds. Mulgrave and Napier, &c. Some politics. We laughed at the attempts made by opposition to give the late *no change* a colour as if it had been the effect of their advice, and not a surprise upon them. We laughed more at the attempt to impress the world that the Prince at the great Council, where he was sworn in, made a studious and pointed distinction in his manner towards the Ministers and his old friends. Ld. Mulgrave told us that he was even then gracious to all, but in the audiences which he has since given to Ministers nothing could exceed the propriety, attention, and grace of his reception of them, or of his manner of doing business with them. The disappointed Lds., for so we must call them, notwithstanding all the puffs that are daily

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uttered of their devotion to the good of the people of this country, are gone to their country seats in great dudgeon.

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What most offended them was the manner in which the Prince announced his resolution. They were in the very act of forming the Administration, filling offices, &c., &c., when Adam came in from the Prince. They said they could not be disturbed; he said he must disturb them, for he had a message from the Prince; they replied that it was for the Prince they were at work, for they were making the Government; Adam told them to spare all trouble, for no Government was to be made. This was on Friday, the 1st, in the evening, and what affronted them was that after having had such a task committed to them, the Prince should have presumed to take a counter resolution by himself, without first consulting them. They openly complain, which we are all very glad off. No division on Tuesday is it seems expected.

On my return to town to-day I found a very lively and kind letter from Lady * * *

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She wondered what I could do in the cold and damp of an uninhabited house in the country, and commanded me immediately to return to town to assist in driving dishonest men out of it. They are gone already.

Feb. 11*th*, 1811.—Called upon Long; he thought we were doing very well and should go on so;

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he had heard from one high and in the secret of opposition (probably Ld. Stafford) the detail of the late passages on their side. They are all extremely out of humour with the Prince, who they think has used them ill. They were, however, extremely puzzled to make the Government, particularly in the House of Commons, where they would only have had three Cabinet Ministers, though they had been desirous of a fourth. It seems they did not much trust to any of the three as a proper person to manage. Whitbread was too impracticable, Ponsonby incapable, and Tierney lazy. People did not like to follow Whitbread, who would only lead, Ponsonby they thought was not equal to it, and they feared that Tierney might, if in office, again become Punch as in Addington's time. In this want they turned their thoughts to Huskisson, as a man of business always ready for them, but found (though I did not discover they had made any proposition to him) there was no chance of detaching him without Canning; of whom therefore, as well as on account of his own abilities, while it would be right to buy off from opposition, they actually thought. This was also much recommended by the Prince himself, to whom C. by his conduct had become agreeable, and who was therefore strongly for it. Nevertheless the disadvantages of connecting themselves with such a man were felt to be so great that it was wholly laid aside, and I was not sorry to find that Lds. Grey and Grenville were among those who opposed. Probably they remembered his conduct to them in 1807, and that at

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least denoted some independence of the principle first acted upon by Fox, when he united with Ld. North, after he had declared he would hold himself infamous to be in the same room with him . .

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I asked Long if there was any truth in a report made at the Treasury by a particular friend of Ld. Grey's, that that Ld. had given it as his advice to the Prince that if he was resolved to continue Mr. Perceval he should treat him with confidence. This Perceval himself said a day or two before had come round to him, and indeed seemed to be told at the Treasury for no other purpose. It was very good advice, he added, if it were only true. Long said he had reason to believe it was true, and that Ld. Grey did it in order to enforce his own principle, that there should be no secret advisers.

Dined at Ld. Mulgrave's. There was a great dinner to hear the speech at Perceval's and Ld. Liverpool's at which we ought respectively to have attended; but Ld. Mulgrave having fixed his party before the day for the speech was known, (indeed before it was ascertained that Ministers were to make the speech at all,) we got off, which I was glad of, for there was an absolute mob at P.'s. At Ld. M.'s we were a quiet party of Ld. Mansfield, Ld. Palmerston, who was glad also to escape the speech dinner, Sturges Bourne and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. and Gen. Phipps. The speech is very wisely managed *, though

* The allusion of the Prince to his own personal feeling was, "We are commanded by his Royal Highness to declare to you, that it is the

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the occasion is so extremely difficult. No handle for anything. Milnes is to move and young Wellesley to second the Address in our House. Lds. Aberdeen and Eliot in the Lds.; Ld. Gambier was asked to second and at first thought of it, but his nerves failed. We talked of Ld. Besborough's (Ponsonby's) foolish protest, calling the last three months a state of anarchy, published in the M. Chronicle of the 6th.

Feb. 12*th*, 1811.—At the House on the Address, which was never better moved and seconded than by Milnes and Wellesley. Milnes equal I think to anything he had done before, though under very great embarrassment all through. His topics, phrases, and metaphors all oratorical, and the argument forcible and ingenious. Wrote my opinion of it before post to Ld. Lowther, who had particularly requested it in a letter from Cottesmore this morning. He is anxious about Milnes, and thinks he might be anything if he would take to business. I think so too. Wellesley remarkably good and showed very great promise of making an excellent man of business. There was no opposition, except from Sir Francis, and the House was up at seven. Every body praised the wisdom of the speech, which gave no pretence for any violent debate, so that Ponsonby, who made a mild and moderate speech, was forced to content himself with saying that everything was open for future discussion and he reserved his opinion. Brand, who came and sat on our side, told me he (Ponsonby)

most anxious wish of his heart to restore unimpaired into the hands of his Majesty the government of his kingdom."

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had been foremost in advising the Prince to make no changes; that he had been at Brand's house in Hertfordshire above a fortnight, and he knew his sentiments entirely on the subject. I never knew a greater panegyric made by one man upon another, than by Ld. Grenville upon Ld. Aberdeen in the House of Lds. on moving the address. The latter, quite overcome, covered his face with his hands.

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Feb. 13*th*, 1811.—The news of the surrender of the Isle of France arrived—the greatest blow that for a long time has been struck, as it annihilates the means of annoyance in the Indian Seas. Yorke shook hands with me upon it, and seemed amazingly pleased. Sir Evan Nepean told me to-day, he thought Perceval likely to gain the Prince, who must, in his heart, feel desirous of getting rid of the thraldom in which he was held by opposition; that he would be glad to have one on whom he could retire. He added, that he knew there was a time when Mr. Pitt might have gained him, perhaps owing to the same sort of wish; that it was somewhere about the year '98 when he openly and in form desired Pitt to be made acquainted with him. This was done through G. Rose, Jun., with whom the Prince was acquainted, and of whom he demanded a dinner, at which he expressly desired him to invite Pitt and his father. The meeting took place; and the Prince liked it so well, that he desired another of Rose, Sen., which also was effected; and in both the interviews the Prince and Mr. Pitt were alike and materially pleased with one another. That

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delicacy prevented the Prince from inviting P. to Carlton House, who, on his side, could not well receive him in Downing Street. That this occasioned the acquaintance to languish till, at last, Sir Evan said, he knew the Prince fancied Pitt disliked him, which brought on coolness, and thus the affair ended.

Wrote a very long letter to Ld. Lowther, on the debate and on our prospects. I begged him to come up on Monday, when Whitbread's great revenge was to be vented in his motion against the Chancellor, for, as he says, concealing the King's illness in 1804.

At the House on the report. A very spirited reply of Perceval to Whitbread, which carried the usual cheering, though in a very thin House. The latter, repenting, we suppose, and not relishing the calm of last night, threw down the gauntlet and said he would oppose as much as ever, notwithstanding it was now the Regent's Government. Perceval took it up with his usual vigour, and made a strong burst upon Whitbread and Hutchinson and Newport, which was not the less felt because most of their friends had gone away while ours remained. There is, at least, no want of spirit on our side; and the country gentlemen are very true. Perceval desired Whitbread to put off his motion against the Chancellor till Monday se'nnight; to which the latter handsomely enough assented. I must say he on all occasions, except where abuse is the vulgar order of the day, expresses the highest respect for Perceval; his private opinion of him, indeed, he does not at all conceal, it is only when on his legs that he affects to put him down, and succumbs

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himself almost regularly in the attempt. We have heard that he has even gone so far as to say that, if they were on the same side, P. is the only man in the House under whom he would act.

Coming home, Ld. Temple took me by the arm and gave me a message from his father, that my affair of the Commission for Buckinghamshire is arranged, and that I am to be named early in the spring. This very trifling point became of importance, from the difficulties which the Marquis chose to throw in the way of it, and which, together with all party feeling upon it, I have been enabled, seconded by the gentlemen of the county, to overcome. Ld. T. himself has been always remarkably, to all appearance, civil and frank.

Feb. 14*th*, 1811.—The City address to the Prince received with much state, surrounded by the very Ministers against whom it was directed. It is a lying and malicious libel, and, as Yorke observes, might be punished as such if in any other form. It takes for granted, and argues upon it as true, that the Chancellor, in 1804, deceived the Parliament as to the King's health; doing, however, no more in this than that rash man, Ld. Grey, had done before in his protest. Such, however, is party, which seems totally excepted from that famous part of the British character, which is supposed to incline us more than any nation on the earth to the most tender as well as strict regard to justice. These shopkeepers, however, have not in this address done anything new. In the scandalous disregard to all decency and justice occasioned by the Cintra Convention, they went up to the throne

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with a lie in their mouths, knowing it to be so, as one great complaint against Ld. Wellington, was the suffering the French to retain their plunder, when, many days before the address went up, news had arrived that the contrary was the express fact. The address complains, too, of being insulted, because the King would not suffer them* to usurp what did not belong to them. The Prince's answer, drawn by the Ministers, much admired. It talks of that ancient constitution under which we had arrived at such unexampled prosperity.

Feb. 15*th*, 1811.—The M. Chronicle compliments the City on having resumed the consequence it enjoyed 40 years ago.

At the House upon the Supply. Creevey beat all to pieces by Perceval, and in vain bolstered up by Folkestone and Whitbread. The last, indeed, did not attempt to support the foolish insinuation that the grant of last year of 12,000*l.* to Lds. Auckland and Glenbervie was a *concealed* piece of favouritism, *those Lds. being or having been members of Parliament.* It was here that Perceval demonstrated the folly and rancour of the accusation with uncommon success. Ld. G. had never been connected with him, and had ceased to be a member when he first came into office. Ld. Auckland and his son, who *were members*, were always in determined opposition. Creevey had said, too, the grant, which was for surveying and valuing

* *Original Note.*—This was in Wilkes's time, and we want no other proof of their disloyal and rascally intentions. (See Mr. Ryder's speech on this subject last year.)

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the crown lands, had been *refused* by former Administrations. Perceval said he did not know by whom they had been refused, but he knew by whom it had been intended to be granted—the *last* Administration. Opposition cried "No! No!" Perceval, with great dignity, which seemed to impress the House, said, it had been so distinctly stated to him in the House itself; but no recommendation, either one way or the other, would have had any effect upon his determination, or any party feeling, as he had shown in the case of Ld. Auckland, and that the justice of the claim was alone his guide. Wynne, who came in during this, confessed that it had been in the contemplation of the last Government to make the grant, and that he had allowed it on his legs in the House, where it was last agitated. This completed Perceval's triumph, who gained much with the House: and I mention it merely to mark what false steps *party* will often induce us to take. Fane, of Oxfordshire, passing down the House, said to me, "What a wonderful creature he is!" Walked home with Perceval after the debate, who told me he was very certain he was in possession of a letter from Lds. Auckland and Glenbervie, in which they demanded 20 instead of 12,000*l.*, and stated that the late Administration were *prepared to give* it. I said I hoped he would find that letter, and give it us in the next Committee of Supply. He said he certainly would if he could, and there would be ample opportunity.

Feb. 16*th*, 1811.—Received a letter from Ld. Lonsdale: alluding to my accounts of the Prince's con-

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duct to Ministers, he says, "I shall *revoke* all the opinions I have been led to adopt, if the conduct you speak of on the part of *a certain person* continues to be as correct and proper as you represent it." Lady Mary is much indisposed, which I am exceedingly sorry for.

Dined at Perceval's. A small domestic party of his wife and daughters, Mr. and Mrs. Sturges Bourne, Ld. Mansfield, Peel, Goulburn, and W. Fitzgerald. We talked of Creevey's ill-judged attack. Perceval said he had heard that his own party had thrown him overboard; and he was not surprised at it, as he was always doing mischief to his friends: he thought Ld. Buckingham could not be much obliged to him. (N.B. C. had said, on Friday, that the Tellership must be *restricted* in this very session.)

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In other respects we had no party politics, and continued telling ghost stories with the women till midnight.

The Prince, who was to have had a large levee on Tuesday, has put it off for a week, on account of a lameness by a horse's treading on him.

Feb. 17*th*, 1811.—My friend Hutton dined with me. He is in politics what is called a croaker, and always takes the discontented side, though not at all a party man. He was, however, to-day, warm in praise of Perceval's conduct.

Feb. 18*th*.—The Prince's and Perceval's letters, on continuing the latter in the Government, published in all the newspapers. They are neither of them good compositions. The town anxious about the Irish dis-

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contents, the Convention Act having been enforced, and many questions asked about it in the House of Commons. Many of us told by Sheridan that the Prince expected members to leave their names at Carlton House, and that it was the thing to do. Not having been at his levee, I thought it might appear presuming; but Sheridan said it would be taken directly the reverse, upon which I went.

Wilson, formerly the Chancellor's secretary, told me to-day, in talking of Perceval, that he had made good the Chancellor's prophecy concerning him in 1806. I asked what that was. He said, upon our then going out, on Mr. Pitt's death, he had observed to the Chancellor, with whom he was then familiar, that we seemed to give it up very cowardly; upon which the Chancellor said, "Why, there is but one man among us who could fight the battle, if he would be prevailed upon to leave his profession, and that is Perceval; but he is not even in the Cabinet now." Wilson separated from the Chancellor, being always strong in opposition: he was nevertheless loud in the praise of Perceval, who, he said, he thought had put himself as high on the late occasion as Mr. Pitt.

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Wrote to Ld. Lonsdale.

Feb. 20th, 1811.—Things go on well, the King advancing fast to perfect recovery. Perceval keeps all his following in the House, and on every subject makes opposition feel. Whitbread and the old Foxites just as violent as ever; not so, I think, Ponsonby; Ld. Temple quiet.

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There was an elegant ball to-night at M. Montague's, where it was said that the Prince *was so overcome with business, and in such low spirits, that it was intended to make the King sub-regent.*

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Feb. 22nd.— In the House, on the Irish question of Pole's letter, putting the Convention Act in force.* We beat them by 80 to 43. Remarkable that only six Irishmen voted in opposition, all the rest being strong party men of England. When they came in, Tierney asked me how many they were? When I said 43, he shook his head and said, half laughing, "Ah! I remember when we rolled out so fast you would not count us; but those merry days are over!" Talking with Freemantle to-night on the state of parties, Perceval then making a very able speech, I said, "Your friend, Ld. Grenville, never made such a mistake in passing by that man and Canning when he formed his Ministry in 1806. Had he not done this, he would have placed himself at the head of a Government as strong, and of as long continuance, as ever Pitt's was." He replied, that might be very well to say *now that he had shown*

* The letter of the Right Hon. W. W. Pole, then Secretary for Ireland, dated Feb. 13th, after his return to Dublin, but asserted by the opposition to have been agreed to before his departure from England, and during the doubts as to the continuance of Perceval's Administration, was made the subject of debate in both Houses. In the House of Lords, Lord Moira, the *intended* Lord Lieutenant, compared their conduct, in ordering such a letter at such a moment, to "that of a set of desperate incendiaries, who set the house in flames which they could no longer inhabit. The explanation of Ministers, however, and of Mr. Pole himself, showed that the letter was written under sudden necessity at the period of its date, without waiting to consult the Ministry in England.

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so much, and, having been placed at the head, he had done well and obtained a great following; but, at the time, nothing of this could have been known. I said Ld. Grenville ought to have known it; for no man had fought such battles and shown such bottom as Perceval, when Attorney-General, defending Addington: yet it was for Addington and his party, attacked by Ld. Grenville, and so defended by Perceval, that Ld. Grenville made a sacrifice of this very Perceval. Freemantle said, to be sure that was a false step that cannot be defended; and allowed that Perceval showed himself what he was immediately after he had been thus proscribed, and was the only man that could fight Fox. I observed, that if Ld. Grenville did not know how to appreciate him, at least Mr. Pitt did, since, in going out to fight with Tierney, he had replied to Lord Harrowby, his second, when he questioned him on the subject, "The country can never go wrong while there is such a man as Perceval." He was then very young, and had not been in office. Freemantle was surprised at this; and the more so because, he said, he knew Mr. Pitt had once told the King, who had told him (Freemantle) again, that, if anything were to happen to him, Canning was the properest man to be his successor. Canning, however, had then shown none of those indications of prurient ambition which have since (much to the credit of the country) so much sunk him in estimation. Talking of Whitbread's attack on the Chancellor next Monday, Freemantle said he thought it very bad policy, for in a party view it could not pos-

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sibly stand better than it did. I said he was very right, for some people at least believed there was something in it; but then the defence would be so strong, and the case made so clear, that nobody would believe a word of it hereafter.

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Had a letter to-day from Ld. Temple upon the Western Canal business, which interests him and Buckinghamshire very much. I answered it as civilly as I could, and dare say that the case will enable me to vote with him and my country neighbours, who are all much interested.

During one of the debates of the last week in the Lds., Sir Home Popham came up to me behind the woolsack. He had lately complained to me of being not only ill-treated, but insulted, by the Admiralty; in being sent on a special mission to the coast of Spain, but immediately recalled, and the command given to Captn. Mends who had failed. Popham always added, that if *he* had continued he would *not* have failed; he was much affronted at being reduced to act as a private Captn. of his ship, the Venerable, in the Channel service. I thought him always a gallant and skilful officer, and so far had lent myself to his complaints; but the late declarations of Finnerty, the libeller and seditionist, who had been already in the pillory in Ireland, and was now sent to gaol for very gross slander on Ld. Castlereagh, involved Popham very much, not in the libel, but in most glaring indiscretion (only equalled by the vanity which prompted it) in connecting himself with such a *polisson*. Fin-

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nerty, it seems, declared, when he was called up for judgment, that Sir Home had written a letter of invitation to go over with him to Walcheren last year, and write the history of the expedition, in which no doubt Popham expected honourable mention. The Secretary of State (not Lord Castlereagh) ordered him to be sent back; which he suspecting to be done by Ld. C., slandered him from head to foot, and now said he had Popham's letter in his pocket, and was ready to produce it. All this occasioned many severe animadversions on the latter; and when he now came up to me in the Lds., to complain as usual of the Admiralty, I said to him, much more in earnest than jest,—"Sir Home, I won't hear you, I will never speak to you again; I will have nothing to do with a man who allies himself with a pilloried rebel, such a scoundrel as Finnerty." He seemed disconcerted, and asked why not? I said I was surprised at the question; and that for a man that pretended to any sense, talents, or loyalty, to invite the blackest incendiary in the kingdom to accompany the troops on any expedition, but especially to Walcheren, was what nobody would have believed! That I had heard it, but never believed it, till Finnerty declared he had his letter in his pocket. He said it was not so; that is, he added hesitatingly, not, as Finnerty stated, a letter inviting him to go, and he would tell me how it was. He then said, that F. had been his short-hand writer on his court-martial in 1806, for leaving the Cape to attack Buenos Ayres; that he served him well with the public, and this had created an acquaintance, and

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the habit of seeing him; that when Ld. Chatham was talked of for the Walcheren expedition, F. had come to him in agitation, and asked if it was true that he was appointed; adding, that it was the worst thing ever done, for he was so unpopular that he would be torn to pieces. To this Popham had replied by desiring him, if he wished ever to have any countenance from him, to use all his influence with the newspapers to keep Ld. C.'s name entirely out of them. Finnerty answered, that he perhaps overrated his interest with the Mor. Chronicle, but he had some influence with other papers, and would certainly so use it; that upon this he (Popham) had observed, then I think, *as a reward for your trouble*, you had better accompany the Expedition and write its history, which may put a few hundreds in your pocket. To this Finnerty assented, and Popham procured him a passage by his recommendation. This was the *explained* account of this creditable alliance, which I told Popham, seriously, made things in my mind very little better; and that he would find my impressions upon the matter not at all singular, for all his friends thought of it in the same way. He looked vexed, and said with some bitterness, he wondered how it should have that effect. Some Lds. coming out, separated us, and put an end to the conversation.

Feb. 25th, 1811.—Whitbread's motion against the Chancellor for deceiving the Parliament, as it was said, on the state of the King in 1804.—Whitbread, more violent than ever, bursting, and sometimes almost inarticulate with passion, yet often very able,

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and his passion most inflated in reply. Perceval not at all implicated (not having been in office at the time), the answer was made by Ld. Castlereagh and Yorke who were. Yorke and Whitbread generally personal. Yorke told him the King was at the very time, perhaps, more competent to business, and sound in mind, than some of the wise statesmen who complained of the contrary. Whitbread in a rage, and foolishly at this declared, he cared not for the sarcasm more than any one against whom it was not directed, yet returned to it in every sentence for half an hour together. We thought him in the very spirit of Sir Fretful Plagiary, *who likes these things.* With all this he pushed many things home; and however it might be excused, Bourne and myself agreed that there was not so triumphant an answer as we had expected. We beat them by an immense majority; and the little support he had, particularly in speakers, who were absolutely confined to such a man as Sir F. Burdett, was supposed to have caused much of Whitbread's spleen. He fell sometimes into downright bellowing with rage.

Feb. 26*th*, 1811.—At the Prince's levee, which was uncommonly splendid and most numerously attended by men of all parties. Those who had not been presented to him before kissed hands, and he put on a most gracious appearance. What struck strangers most was the splendour of Carlton House, unequalled by anything royal or otherwise in England. I thought it not inferior to Versailles or St. Cloud. Some of my old friends of the corps diplomatique

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whom I met were as much struck; Count Munster said that the palace at Petersburg beat everything in vastness, but was not equal to this in elegance or richness. In the crowd Canning, who might have avoided me, dropped behind and entered into a slight conversation upon the subject. As I am told he knows what I think of him, I felt this extraordinary but could not refuse it. Meeting the Chancellor I said I hoped he was satisfied with the last night's debate and immense majority. He said yes; but added in my ear he thought he had been *inhumanly treated.* I smiled and said it was what great men must bear as the price of their greatness, and that he looked well and stout. He said it made no impression, and that he could bear three times as much. We then entered into general and sufficiently lively conversation, in which others joined as we pushed up to the presence; but in the end he reverted to the subject, and, looking very grave, whispered to me that he had lived to see things in the conduct of men which he thought absolutely impossible. I observed that I was not surprised at that, and I thought he would live long enough to see many things more which he even now believed impossible. A little after I asked, if what he alluded to related at all to the Grenvilles? He said yes, certainly to them; but also to some others. In the House, after the levee, mentioning this to Perceval and Yorke, they thought it related to the votes against him by several persons whom he had obliged; as if that could surprise anybody. He might have almost equally have expressed his surprise afterwards

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in the House, where this evening Wardle showed all that the most stupid ignorance, joined to the most wicked dispositions, could attempt. Wardle endeavoured to tell a case of oppression in the militia, in the person of corporal Curtis, by his Colonel Gore Langton. I say *endeavoured*, for the the man is such a fool that he could not narrate intelligibly. However it turned out that Curtis was an incendiary like himself, that he had endeavoured to excite discontent on the withholding of clothes by the Colonel, which clothes he actually had on while in the act of complaining. It ended in the triumph of Manners Sutton (who spoke with great felicity as well as ability), and the total overthrow of Wardle, who was, abandoned by even Whitbread, Creevey, and Folkstone, left in a minority of 1 against 97, and that one Gore Langton himself. I was a teller and when I shut the door with Burdett, the latter said to Wardle, in a low voice, this is sadly unlucky. When Gore Langton walked up the House there was a great shout of hear and the Speaker with great emphasis said the *Aye* that went forth *was* one. Wardle had had the impudence to write to the Commander in Chief, asserting a constitutional right as a member of Parliament to examine Curtis in the depôt, as a man oppressed whom he meant to protect in the House, to insist upon his not being sent abroad in the mean time. Yet he refused to give the Commander in Chief the smallest information as to the particulars of the oppression complained of. Sutton said he seemed to think he had a roving commission; and Perceval that he was a walk-

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ing committee. In the course of the debate Wardle said a sergeant had been known to swear that Curtis was a d—d rascal, and any one a d—d rascal *who took his part.* The House pointed this so immediately by a great and long cry of hear! that even this man was ashamed* and for a moment covered his face with his hands.

There never was a greater triumph to the friends of order; yet I should not be surprised that the wise and virtuous geese of the city should vote, in full corporation, under the twin brotherhood of Wardle, Waithman, that justice had been denied, and inquiry stifled by the *strong hand of power.*

Feb. 29th, 1811.—Brought in the bill for dividing the great rectory of Simonburn, 27 miles long, and worth 3000*l.* a year now, with a probable increase to 8000*l.* into eight livings, to be confined to meritorious chaplains in the Navy. Much approved.

Bourne now regularly sits with us, and often on the Treasury bench. I hope he will soon be there again officially.

March 2nd and 3rd.—At Hyde House.

March 5th.—A great and violent debate upon Perceval's motion to confine the priority of notices to four days in the week, and leave two to orders of the day. Whitbread and Ponsonby, too, in a rage. They seem both much soured; which, considering their total discomfiture as a party, and the total indifference of the country to their late disappointments, I am not surprised at. Ponsonby rude to Ld. Palmerston, and

* *Original Note.*—He did not come to the House again for a very long time.

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afterwards to Wilberforce on the subject. Whitbread said he would not be ruled by Perceval in everything as he attempted. We were much amused. In walking home to the Admiralty with Yorke, he observed how completely Whitbread seemed to be made up of the elements of opposition, that his father before, though extremely opposite in politics, was an exceedingly odd man. We, nevertheless, agreed that Whitbread had many good points, was open, liberal and generous, though sour and tyrannical.

March 7th.—Ponsonby's motion against Pole for putting the Convention Act in force in Ireland. Failed terribly for opposition. Every point answered by Pole in a manner to show the futility and ridicule of the attempt. Pole uncommonly able. No one thought it necessary to say a word in addition. The House entirely satisfied that Government had done right throughout, and the attempt recoiled upon our opponents themselves, to whom (as all such attempts must) it did infinitely more harm than good. We said it was only exceeded by Wardle's. I observed to Sir John Sebright that it would do them no good, and would not raise them. He said they certainly will not have me with them; nor will it raise them in my esteem. Accordingly he voted with us, and we beat them by 133 to 48. This thinness of the House has been remarkable of late. It is the consequence of the termination of the late contest, and of opposition as to power being totally disarmed. All they do is to show their teeth!

March 17th, 1811.—Things very quiet. Lately no

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arrivals from abroad, no disturbance at home, little opposition in the House. The army estimates again carried through, with great credit, by Ld. Palmerston, who was complimented by Whitbread, Calcraft, and others; who said they never knew the subject better treated, or estimates better framed. We carried the estimates for the Navy with still greater triumph. Yorke, with or for whom I had literally been shut up in the Admiralty for three days running, made a masterly statement, was loaded with praise, and no where blamed; so that we got above 20 millions, as if they had been 20 pounds. Nothing demonstrates to the country the empty arrogance of our opponents, when they lay claim to superior abilities, better than such nights as these. Perceval, however, had fully proved it before.

Private reports on the King's health this last week make him not so well. Yorke told me, he thought, if he got worse, the Prince would yet dismiss the Ministry.

Reports, also, that the Sidmouths were to join us. The Lady Bathursts, however, whom I requested to inquire of their friend, a relation, Bragge Bathurst, said at dinner yesterday that he positively denied it. On Friday (15th.), the Duke of Grafton died; and Ld. Palmerston instantly set off for Cambridge to stand for the University, with every hope of success, against young Smyth, who stands on his uncle's, the present Duke, interest. A great contest expected for the Chancellorship, between the Dukes of Gloucester and Rutland. This unfortunate, as the first is

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espoused by the Prince and all his brothers; and the last had been promised all possible goodwill by the King, which is confirmed by Perceval, who feels obliged to act upon it, and opposes the Prince.*

Dined to-day at Ryder's,—a pleasant mixed party, with ladies. Bourne, Holford, Bragge Bathurst, Sir Char. Mordaunt, Sir George Paul, and some others. The King is certainly worse, and it is said from his impatience to resume. Willis constantly with him. The two Archbishops have been with him to state the propriety of his continuing some time longer in retirement. He talked to them very sensibly. This is Vernon's news, who of course relates from his father.† The junction with the Sidmouths very much talked of (aside from Ryder and Bathurst); the report was that the Speaker was to be a peer, and probably one of the Secretaries, and Bathurst to have the chair. There never will be such a Speaker again; it is at least premature, and I do not believe it. What will Canning feel or do, if it is? He, and his party, have scarcely appeared lately; he has spoken but once, and then warmly in favour of Perceval. Every body observes, that it will be long before he regains his former consequence.

* The Duke of Gloucester beat his opponent by 114: the numbers being, for the Duke of Gloucester, 470; for the Duke of Rutland, 356. Lord Palmerston, for the election of a member of Parliament, succeeded by a somewhat similar proportion:—

Palmerston - - - - -	459
Smyth - - - - -	347
Majority - - -	112

† The Archbishop of York.

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March 18*th.*—King so much worse, that intercourse with his family is again forbidden. At the House, on the subsidy of 2,000,000*l.* to Portugal, agreed to by all sides; but the system of assisting the Peninsula by arms opposed and blamed with all their force by opposition. We want nothing more than to stand or fall, with the world and with posterity, by a comparison between this wise as well as generous line of politics, and that proposed by our opponents. That comparison leaves their system narrow, pusillanimous, and destructive. By abandoning the Peninsula, they would themselves finish the subjugation of the Continent, and labour the way to bring the conqueror to our own shores. A child must see the cowardice and the error. Yet these are the most consummate statesmen in Europe—the only men of talent in Great Britain; the only persons to deliver the empire: the Ministry a parcel of pigmies—kept in alone by Court favour. That matter, however, now out of doubt. In the debate, Freemantle made an able speech, able for him, and for the subject; in which his whole argument went to prove that because Bonaparte had conquered all the rest of the Continent, he therefore must conquer the Peninsula, because he had greater numbers to bring up after every defeat, that therefore defeat was vain. This as *new* as dastardly, and went the length of proving, that we ought ourselves to crouch, to sue, and to surrender. These, however, the politics of all the talents; how sound, or how English, let England decide. He was answered and pulled to pieces in

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one of the most beautiful, as well as argumentative, speeches ever delivered in the House, by young Peel [Under-secretary in the War Department]; who gave another proof that there was ability on our side of the House. He was applauded almost as much by opposition as by us at the end of his speech, and by Whitbread not the least. As to argument, he put the whole matter at rest.—Walked home with M. A. Taylor, who complained bitterly of having been denied a place of 80*l.* a year, avowedly because he was in opposition. I found, however, that it was a place at Pool, where he is cultivating an election interest to be used for election purposes. I laughed, and asked him how in the name of common sense he could have expected to succeed? He answered with even more than usual pomp and solemnity, that he should always resent it; that he had acquainted the Regent, that the Regent resented it, and that it was the worst day's work Perceval ever did. Laying his hand on his breast, he desired me to mark his words; he concluded by saying the King would never recover.

To-day was published the most foolish letter that ever could be penned by foolish nobility. The Duke of Rutland, in his fear of his royal rival in the contest for Cambridge, tells the University that though he has no merit of his own, he has that of being agreeable to the King and to Mr. Perceval, Chancellor of the Exchequer, whose good wishes he possessed. This letter is very properly published by the other side; and if ever man undid, or deserved to undo himself by an act of folly amounting to suicide, it is this most

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notable Duke. It is of a piece with, and just what might be expected from the friend and supporter of, that other self-destroyer Ld. Chatham!

March 20th, 1811.—Dined at Lord Tankerville's; his son, H. Bennet, Mr. Beresford, Sir John Wrottesley, Sir Wm. Drummond, Mrs. Bennet, and the ladies of his family. I think him much broken, we had, however, a cheerful mixed conversation on literature and politics. All talked of Perceval as he deserved, and allowed that nobody came near him in the House, of which he was the confessed head; that Canning beat him upon a great state subject of foreign politics, but for general powers of debate and acumen, as well as knowledge of domestic interests, he was far the first. They talked of the rising generation, and seemed disposed to allow, what Tierney once allowed to me before, that we had the best in Peel, and they the second best in J. Ward, of all the young men. After coffee Ld. Tankerville took me aside, and begged me to thank Yorke most particularly for his kindness to him about his wife and daughter gone to Madeira; he then talked with much of his old eagerness and sarcasm upon affairs, his own friends by no means spared. He said they had managed vilely and we as adroitly, blamed Ld. Grenville for all the disappointment, and for causing the restrictions when he least intended it, which was true; that he, Lord Tankerville, had prophesied everything of Perceval when he first came in, but was not believed by his party, who asked what was to be feared from a man who had not business enough to employ a clerk? That Ld. * * *

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was disgusted, and could hardly be kept in town; that he had consulted him about going, and he had advised him not to stir, particularly as Lady * * * was ill. That he said there could be no good done, and he would go, though he knew he should be set down as a man out of humour and disappointed; that it was a pity for his party, as they beat us in debate in the Lds., where Ld. Wellesley was of no sort of use to us. Lord Tankerville then fell into the natural praise of an old man of the *temporis acti*, said there were no men left who could govern assemblies like Ld. Chatham and Thurlow; that Thurlow would sometimes let nobody speak but himself, and all obeyed; that he managed the whole for Ld. North in the upper House, where his colleagues Weymouth, Hillsborough, &c., were nothing at all. That he remembered Ld. Chatham well, who once, on the subject of pressing, corrected his ardour as a young man; that he (Ld. T.) was then so shocked with some hardships on the subject, that he flew out and declared he would make some motion upon it, but Ld. Chatham took him aside and said, that when as young he had felt as he did, and was just as impatient, but he had since seen the absolute necessity for the power, and could tell him from experience that the safety and glory of the kingdom depended upon it; that there was no remedy or exchange for it, and as to the law, told him to read Foster. I observed to Ld. T. that he must have seen so much of the public characters of that time, and had mixed so much in affairs, that he was able to do a very useful service to the country

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in giving a picture of them, such as no other man could, and I wished he would write. He said certainly no man else could, for he had outlived them all, and seemed to ponder a little on what I said. I pointed out the great use and authenticity of memoirs, the various names that had left legacies to their country by merely recording facts, and the light shown upon very curious transactions by such easy exertion. He mentioned Ld. Oxford and B. Doddington, though he would not, like Doddington, record his own disgrace; he is, however, too far advanced, though not so much in years, and I was sorry to see a great alteration in him within the last twelve-months." *

At this point the Diary is interrupted for the period of a year, blank leaves being left which were never filled up from the daily memoranda he was in the habit of making. A not improbable cause for this interruption, will be found in the additional labour which would naturally be imposed upon him in closing his labours at the Admiralty, and making himself master of the details of the Ordnance Office, to which he was removed in the capacity of Clerk of the Ordnance in the month of June.

* Charles, fourth Earl of Tankerville, was then in his 68th year; and so far were the anticipations of a break-up in his constitution from being realised, that he did not die till the year 1822, in his 80th year.

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CHAP. XIV.

DIARY CONTINUED FROM JAN. 27TH, 1812, TO THE TIME OF MR. PERCEVAL'S DEATH.

ABOUT this time his Majesty's recovery appeared to be sufficiently advanced for him to make his appearance in public on horseback, amid the ringing of bells and the rejoicings of the inhabitants of Windsor. This appears, however, to have been only a temporary improvement, as the official report of the 6th of July, and those that followed it, were by no means reassuring. It was in this state of things that Parliament met on the 7th of January. The restrictions were to expire on the 1st of February, if Parliament had then been sitting six weeks, *or* six weeks after the meeting of Parliament, whether such meeting had taken place before or subsequent to that day. The exact period of the complete emancipation of the Regent was therefore, to a certain extent, within the control of the Minister for the time being. It is precisely at this interesting period that the Diary of Mr. Ward is again resumed.

January 27th, 1812.—At the House on the Household Bill*; Tierney, Whitbread, and Ponsonby, opposed it, the two first violently.

* Perceval had brought in a Bill upon the future arrangements to be made for the King, the Queen, and the Prince Regent, involving discussions which for the moment could hardly fail to damage successively each section or party in the House with his Royal Highness.

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Walked home with Tyrwhitt after the debate to Carlton House. He said they had been d—nd bitter in their opposition; agreed they played their cards ill, and particularly the Grenvilles, in pushing the question on Ireland. And yet, I said, they give out that they are to come in as soon as the Restrictions are off. All I know, said he, is, that they shall never give *me* a place, they did not do it before, and they should not now! He agreed that Ireland was much discontented, and great management required, but the way opposition took was not the right one.

I received a letter to-day from Ld. Lonsdale, in which there was this remarkable passage: "It is said to be the report that the Secretary for Foreign Affairs is using every effort to bring Canning into office; if this scheme is pushed a little farther, it will, I hope, cause a vacancy in that office (meaning Ld. Wellesley's), for I can see no good in having a man in the Cabinet who cannot act cordially with his colleagues."

Feb. 13th, 1812.—At the House on Whitbread's motion for American papers. Pending the negotiation it could only be *pour éblouir*. Most of his party went away; the Ponsonbys, &c., &c., Wilberforce, and H. Thornton against him. On the division we were 136 to 23. Perceval said to us, "*O! si sic omnia!*" In the debate Curwen said he believed the Ministry were drawing to an end. Perceval replied that as far as he knew any thing of the matter, his golden dream might not prove so consolatory as

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he seemed to think. Whitbread said this was announcing himself the selected Minster of the country. I was sitting next to P. who observed he never said so, and took a note to explain, but never made the explanation, so the House rose thinking all was settled. Heard this morning from Ld. Lonsdale, who says those are too sanguine, who from present appearances can expect any change: answered him with an account of things.

Feb. 14*th.*—Great sensation in the streets, clubs, &c., caused by Perceval's declaration last night, nevertheless Lds. Lauderdale and St. John are said to have announced that they know his dismissal is resolved on. Wrote to Ld. Lonsdale what was passing.

Feb. 15*th.*—The Morning Chronicle announced to-day with an air of great authority what was going on; that the Prince had made a communication to Lds. Grey and Grenville offering a change of Administration, but it would not be accepted unless the measures they recommended, particularly as to Ireland, were adopted.

The paragraph seemed meant as a counter declaration to Perceval's on the debate on the 13th, and was evidently drawn up by some of the parties concerned. Triumph was indulged on the blasted hopes of the friends of the Ministry, which this act of the Prince was supposed utterly to overthrow.

Sir James Graham (at whose house I first saw it) did not know what to make of it. I said it was evident from the structure of the paragraph, that

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it was meant to leave a false inference for a few hours in the world, and that it was plain (whatever had been done) the opposition were not coming in. I went from Sir James Graham's to Ld. Mulgrave's, who told me a communication had certainly been made, but he was not at liberty yet to tell me of what nature, and seemed doubtful as to the event; he asked whose faces were the longest out of doors, I told him that I had seen none, and we did some Ordnance business. When I left him he desired if I heard any thing critical to let him know, so that whatever is on the *tapis* is at least not yet settled. Charles Wynne, however, whom I saw almost instantly afterwards, told me that he had been with his friends till nine the evening before, who had not announced any thing like a change. He assured me I was the first who had even announced to him that there had been a communication, which, however, being stated to be through the D. of York, he could easily foretell its complexion; that some communication should be made, after the manner in which the Prince parted with them last year, he said was to be expected; but that they were to be called back to power, was * out of his contemplation: he went therefore soberly on with the errand he was upon when I found him, which was to get the Bp. of Exeter to preach a sermon for the Welsh charity.

* A curious illustration of the feelings of a part at least of the opposition, as to what would or ought to be the conduct of the Prince Regent, affording a reply *d'avance* to the after complaints of treachery and disappointment of reasonable expectations.

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As I went to the office every one was charged with something respecting a change, and the critical 18th* seemed anticipated. But Creevy, Abercrombie, and Brougham, whom I met separately with no very cheerful countenances, told me their own party news was, that we were all to remain. Lady Spencer it seems said the same thing last night, and Lowndes, member for Bucks, told me he had heard from Mr. Oliver, a great follower of the Grenvilles, that the message was to Ld. Grey only, and to this effect, that the Prince could on no account think of employing the Grenvilles, and that being satisfied with his present Ministers, if Ld. Grey could not separate himself from Ld. Grenville, he was sorry he could not avail himself of his (Grey's) services. This, *un peu fort;* nevertheless his disgust at the Grenvilles is such that it may be true. Ld. Lowther called on me, he said we were all in but did not know what had passed. Ld. Castlereagh was to join. Talking of the Prince's confidants, and alluding particularly to Ld. Lauderdale's report of our dismissal, he said at a dinner at Ld. Hertford's a few days before, some one mentioned that Gen. Maitland was to go to Java, upon which the Prince said "he wished there had been a few more Javas to send all the Maitlands to them."

Went to Ryder's office to lay a paper with some plans of Ld. Buckingham's respecting local militia before him. Dawkins had transmitted it to me

* The day the restrictions were to expire.

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from the country. They knew nothing of what was going forward, nor did Wharton whom I went to at the Treasury, he only remained fixed in his former opinion that Perceval would remain Minister. He added that Ld. Cholmondely, who is certainly to be Steward, had entirely (and was the only one who had) disengaged himself from his party and joined the Government; that the D. of Northumberland was to support, and his son-in-law, Ld. James Murray, to have the Bedchamber, but the D. of Norfolk utterly refused. Leaving him I found Mr. Perceval, who put all matters out of doubt, by telling me he had just come from Carlton House, where he had been ordered to attend; that the opposition Lds. had refused a proposal which had been made to them by the Prince, through the D. of York, for a coalition on the broadest basis with him (Perceval), and that in consequence the Prince had desired him to consider himself as his Minister for the future. The golden dream then, said I, has really proved not to be so consolatory to our friends on the other side. He laughed and observed that it was all dissipated, and as Ld. Mulgrave was with him when he had been sent for by the Prince, and had desired to know the result, he requested I would take this account up to him in Harley-street. He added, upon a question I asked him, that the proposal made did not exclude Ld. Grenville or any one.

I left Mr. P. at his garden gate in the park, and

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found Ld. Liverpool and Pole galloping up to it, to speak to him, with seeming impatience, and as Perceval was only that moment come from Carlton House, they of course came to be told the event. The opposition being the masters of it*, their knowledge of the affair previous to its being known to the Ministry is thus accounted for. When I got to Ld. Mulgrave's, he was waiting to be informed, and he then told me the whole transaction as it had passed.

Whatever Perceval might have been led to conclude from the frequent conferences with the Prince on affairs, it should seem that none of the Ministry knew with any certainty what his final determination was respecting the opposition.

The 18th was now at hand, and it appears there was at least reason for the imagination that the Prince waited for the removal of the restrictions to determine upon the Government.† That period approaching he wrote with his own hand a very long letter to the D. of York, in which he detailed (in a manner so masterly that Ld. M. said he would not pretend to do justice to it) his opinion upon affairs. He said he had been, as he ought, the last man in the country to despair of

* He probably meant, through their power of accepting or refusing a junction.

† *Note by Mr. Ward.*—William Maling told me that he had seen Gen. Grey's Aide-de-camp, who informed him, that his brother, Lord Grey, asking him if he had fixed his departure from town, the General said, "No, I think I shall wait the next week." "Do," said Ld. G. "I think you will then see some fun!"

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the King's recovery, and therefore had resolved at first to continue the present Ministers out of respect to his father; but the time was now come when he must decide for himself; that it would be injustice to the Ministers to deny them the praise of great abilities and great fidelity in the conduct of affairs; that conduct had been prosperous, and had added a great accession of territory to the country, and whatever might have been his former opinion, he certainly ought to express himself so satisfied with Mr. Perceval's Government that he could not think of removing that gentleman from his councils; at the same time he could not but wish that his early friends would combine their weight and talents with his, and form a coalition for a Government upon the most extended basis. There was a great deal more Ld. M. said, but this was the sum, and concluded by desiring the Duke to communicate these sentiments to Ld. Grey, who no doubt, he said, would communicate them to Ld. Grenville.

This then was all the overture, and I learned from Long, who had it from his friend Ld. * * *, that this mode of mentioning Ld. Grenville had given mortal offence and affronted all his party, since it declined all personal communication to him on the part of the Prince, who thus evidently preferred Ld. Grey to him, and Mr. Perceval to both.

What, indeed, is everywhere observed seems true, that the exaltation of Mr. Perceval is infinitely more demonstrated by this offer to join the opposing leaders

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to him, than if no offer had been made at all; since, if nothing had been done, people might at least be in doubt as to the Prince's real sentiments; whereas he has here made Perceval the *sine quâ non* to the Greys and Grenvilles, but does not make them the *sine quâ non* to him. Many, indeed, say it indicates that he never was in earnest about them, and that, as he must know their measures and principles are so opposite to Mr. Perceval's, it is only a soft mode of getting rid of them altogether.

I wrote an account of all these transactions to Lords Lonsdale and Kenyon, who will both be very glad to hear of them.

Dined at Spencer Stanhope's in Grosvenor Square. He amused me exceedingly by telling me he had been writing just the contrary of all this to his relation Lord Lonsdale. I told him Lord L. would think one or the other of us was hoaxing him. He was quite struck; for he had opened upon me the moment I entered with very doleful tidings, that we were all out; Perceval quite dismissed, and *carte blanche* given to the other side. Such, it seems, had been his news, and Lord Clive and Mr. Eyre (member for Nottinghamshire), who dined there, believed it too. They were all exceedingly glad to be undeceived; and, upon examination, I found Mr. Stanhope's news was this: — Leach (the counsel, and who, it was supposed, would be Solicitor-General if the others came in) had seen Tierney, who had assured him he himself had seen a second letter from the Duke of York explaining the first, and desiring them to form a

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new Administration. This, it was said, too, by Stanhope was in consequence of Lds. Grey and Grenville objecting to make part of a coalition; a supposition which this second letter informed them was a mistake: and thus the real meaning of the original offer was not, as we have seen, a *sine quâ non* of Perceval, but an absolute selection of the Grey party. Upon examination, however, Stanhope could give me no date to this letter, but believed it passed, if at all, on Friday the 14th; and as I had seen Perceval at four o'clock to-day, they were all satisfied; possibly, a second letter * did pass, for the first may have been mistaken for an offer to come in under Perceval, and leaving him First Ld. of the Treasury,—a supposition, though mistaken, which caused the failure of an offer to coalesce two years ago, which these Lds. under that mistake rejected; and the second letter may have explained that an entirely new Administration was to be formed, leaving the head of it to future consideration; though always on the condition that Perceval was to form a part of it, and with the chances and prospects of any other individual.

Ld. Clive took me home, and during the drive indulged in the hope of adding the Sidmouths to the Administration. Ld. S. to be President, and Bragge Bathurst to succeed Ryder, whose health is so bad it is thought he must retire; all which, as it probably spoke his father's (Ld. Powis) sentiments, was worthy remark.

Feb. 16*th*, 1812.—Sat an hour with Ld. and Lady

* See *post*, p. 422.

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Hampden. They were much delighted with the news of yesterday, admiring Perceval very much, though not at all connected with him or his friends. But they dislike the Grenvilles very much both here and in Buckinghamshire. They talked of new dukes, among them a Duke of Rockingham and Duke of Hastings*, but it was only talk.

Feb. 17th.—At the Committee on the Claims of American Merchants. Found Bourne, who asked me a great deal about the letter. He had understood the Prince made it a condition that Perceval was to retain his situation as First Lord of the Treasury,—which is not true,—and said the Prince was indignant at the answer being known in all the streets, before he had even broke the seals,—which is true. Bourne still harped upon Canning, and thought the perfect neglect of him impolitic. I said it was all resolvable into the ideas conceived of his conduct three years ago, in which he agreed; but deprecated the accession of Castlereagh as a mere acquisition of weakness,—in which I agreed too. He asked what had been said precisely about Ireland, which I could not tell him; but I since heard that the Prince treated that subject as set at rest by the recent votes of the two Houses, and thought it ought not to form an obstacle to a coalition. The Lds. answered, it was by no means set at rest, nor will it, with their good pleasure.

In coming from the House met Tierney, who wished me joy on my friends remaining in power, which he said he had always prophesied. I reminded

* *Original Note.*—Lords Fitzwilliam and Moira

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him of what he had observed to me in the autumn, that there could be no alternative between Perceval and Ld. Grenville. "Yes," he said, "and the choice would be of Perceval." I told him he had been quoted as having seen a second letter with an offer for his friends to form the Administration, as mentioned by Spencer Stanhope. This he utterly denied, and that he knew nothing of any letter but one. This is strange, and Leach or Stanhope must have been under some unaccountable misapprehension.

The Duke of Norfolk passed from Arundel: he had been sent for, and drove straight to Carlton House, where he staid above an hour, and then went to Ld. Moira's, who was out. Swan, whom I saw at the House of Commons, told me Norfolk House was quite beset by them, but they had not yet seen the Duke; nor was it known among our friends, at eight, when I left the House, what part he meant to take. Ld. Moira, however, has certainly refused the Garter, and to give his support. His personal support is of very little consequence, and he is nothing, except as a supposed index of the Prince, where, however, his influence is supposed to be on the wane.

The reports are amusing. Michael Angelo says that the Prince has settled nothing yet in regard to Perceval; that is (we say) he has not declared it to him (Michael). I told this to Tyrwhitt, who was much amused.

Another *on dit* is, that a new negotiation is set on foot with Ld. Holland for the object, who had told it everywhere. His Lordship, however, with Lds. Grey

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and Lansdowne, Tierney, &c., were under the gallery, and the leaders of opposition laughed at the report as much as we did.

Another report, much more likely, gained ground, and that was, the accession of Lords Sidmouth and Buckinghamshire, Bragge Bathurst, and Vansittart. Freemantle asked me if he might give us joy of this deadly assistance, which had always proved so fatal to all who had ever received it. I might have retorted his question in regard to Canning, who was walking arm and arm to-day with Ld. Temple, and whom we all expect to see in hot opposition. I am rash enough, as I wrote to Ld. Lonsdale, to prefer this to a hollow support.

Feb. 18*th*, 1812. — Two foolish reports, that the negotiation was again opened by an invitation to Ld. Holland, and that Ld. Wellesley was to be Premier. It is wonderful how the last was repeated. Coming from the Committee, I met Mr. Perceval, about four o'clock in the Park, and said to him in a tone of condolence, I was sorry to find his power was not fixed yet. He asked what I meant, and when I told him laughingly answered, "I am this moment going to the House with a message from the Prince, which will show, I think, who *is* Minister; and Ld. Wellesley's resignation was this day accepted, which will show who is *not*. The ides of March are come! The message, he added, was that the Prince had created Ld. Wellington an earl, and to propose an additional 2000*l*. a year to his pension. I asked if the Duke of

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Norfolk, who had been sent for from Arundel, was to support; but he did not then know.

Ld. * * *, with whom I afterwards walked half way home, told me that they all thought Lord Wellesley had behaved exceedingly ill, and that, had he attempted to form a Government, none of the present Cabinet would have gone with him: so that he would be left with Canning for his sole support. The idea was ridiculous; for he had never been of any service to the old Government, and his reputation had dwindled away from sheer idleness: none of his colleagues could be cordial with him again, or, at least, for a considerable time. He closed with telling me the Duke of Richmond is to have the Garter *, which Pole, whom I afterwards saw, informed me was given in the very handsomest manner. Pole said, too, what I was exceedingly glad to hear, that Richard Wellesley was not to quit the Treasury. But how foolish is this once great man! But a few, and a very few, years ago he came home with the greatest name in the empire, after the death of Mr. Pitt. He has now failed in an endeavour of intrigue rather than of ambition so spiritless as to be even ridiculous! His brother Pole, who is worth a thousand of him, told me he had not even mentioned his design to him, for which he was very much obliged to him; and when he announced his resignation, he only replied you have made a mistake! but we will be as good friends as ever. Neither Ld. Wellington nor Henry Welles-

* Lord Lonsdale received the Garter at the same time.

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ley follow him, his own son remains with us, and he thus affords the unique spectacle of the head of the most energetic family in the nation acting against all their wishes, and losing all their support. Ἀνὴρ δίψυχος with a vengeance. If he goes to the Grenvilles, which probably he and Canning will do, both must be content to act subaltern parts under the whole of that party; a very proper reward for such petty vanity, such little ambition!

Wrote to Ld. Lonsdale.

Dillon acquainted Mrs. Ward to-day that the Duke of Norfolk had utterly refused his support. He was above an hour at Carlton House, and seems to have made a speech in form upon the occasion, telling the Prince that he had always been deeply impressed with his kindness, was full of gratitude, &c. &c., but there were paramount duties to the country which would forbid all support to a Government that would not save the state by emancipating the Catholics; that Ireland would be lost, and the determination of the Regent be sealed in blood. If it is not, it will not be the fault of these oligarchs and democrats, for such in reality is the strange medley ranged against us; another proof, if proof were wanting, that ambition is like adversity in one respect at least, and makes people acquainted with strange bedfellows! This speech, Dillon said, was written down by Mr. Howard as soon as the Duke came came from Carlton House, and afterwards shown at Brooks's. Dillon was red hot upon it, said he would not expatriate himself but stick by the soil of Ireland, and hoped his father

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would not accept the Earldom of Lichfield, expected to be offered him.

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Feb. 19*th*, 1812.—Ld. Wellesley gave up the seals. Sheridan has put forward a strange story.

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The letter and the answer are published *, the first infinitely the best, and, as a fine composition merely, would do honour to the Prince, who we believe wrote every word of it. Report, however, gives at least a share of it to Sheridan. The part where he says he has "no predilections to indulge, no resentments to gratify," but is all for the country, has a fine effect.

Received a long and lively letter from Lady * * *. She says she has not written lately because a pain in the side and blisters had kept her making, what the Grenvilles she supposes are now making, "wry faces," which she did not wish to bestow upon her friends. Ld. Lonsdale it seems was hunting at Milton (Ld. Fitzwilliam's) when he should have got my letter announcing the overture, which he first, therefore, learned from Ld. Fitzwilliam himself, who had received an express on Saturday with the proposal and the decision upon it.

Feb. 20*th*, 1812.—Proposals of peace from Sweden, and offers, it is said, to mediate a peace with France. The latter rumour ridiculous. Some hours at the

* This "letter" was from the Prince Regent to the Duke of York: the "answer" was from the Lords Grey and Grenville, declaring the impossibility of their "uniting with the present Government, on account of differences that embrace almost all the leading features of the present policy of the empire."

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Committee on the American claims. Reports strong upon Ld. Sidmouth coming in, and that Ld. Liverpool goes to the Foreign office, and Ld. Castlereagh to the War. He says his honour is concerned (alluding to Canning's blame of him there) that he should go there and to no other. Ld. Liverpool too was blamed by Canning in the Foreign office, and removed in 1805 by Mr. Pitt. His honour, therefore, is equally concerned. If true, there will be no end of the ridicule. William Eliot * who told it me, enjoyed it very much!

General Cuppage with me to-day at the office on several reforms in his department, by which I hope to save many thousands.

Ld. Charles Somerset told me the hostile party had a large meeting to-day, and seemed very well pleased with themselves. *Nous verrons!* He supposed Ld. Wellesley and Canning would also meet!

Feb. 21*st*, 1812.—At the House on the Army Estimates. A brisk debate on Col. M'Mahon's place. Bankes violent, but the cause of it completely put down by Perceval, who in a very manly way showed that under the circumstances no just offence had been given to Parliament. Whitbread quiet, but Tierney in a rage, and so ungovernable as to say many personal things of the Prince. He had been forced by bad councillors to *disgrace* his new reign, and Perceval had *dragged him through the dirt.* Much sensation and a cry of order!

* *Note by Mr. Ward.*—The Right Hon. W. Eliot, late Secretary for Ireland, the bar friend of Burke and Windham.

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We voted 54 to 38, and on Monday they mean to try this question again, though we are told the real trial of strength is to be on Sir T. Turton's motion for a committee on the state of the nation. Ld. Yarmouth and Sheridan came down to vote for M'Mahon, but were shut out.

Ld. Lansdowne has been offered to go to Ireland, but of course refused.

Ld. Mulgrave told me in the morning that nothing was fixed about the Foreign office, and that Ld. Liverpool was too good a War Secretary to be spared there. He said we must not be too sure that Richard Wellesley did not leave the Treasury. I fear, indeed, after his father's conduct it will be uncomfortable to him to stay.

Ld. Kenyon came in to-day very much taken up with all that had happened. He arrived the day before from Wales, and came to support in the House of Lds. Talking of that part of the Prince's letter in which he said he had no resentments to gratify, Ld. Mulgrave said it resembled Lewis XII., who said a king of France should not revenge the injuries of the Duke of Orleans.

Feb. 22nd.—On business with Ld. Liverpool at the Foreign office, where he temporarily holds the seals. He was receiving *all* the Foreign Ministers—*but four in number out of all the world.* Are we most to deplore this, or wonder at the greatness of England that can so long have contended against Europe?

Dined at Sir W. Farquhar's; Wm. Hamilton,

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Undersecretary of State, told me R. Wellesley informed him on Friday that he had resigned, and had taken quite an affectionate leave of Perceval, who had treated him in the kindest manner possible, and begged him to continue. Without ranging himself against his father it was plain he could not.

February 23*rd*, 1812.—At Ld. Mulgrave's. He said it was quite ridiculous to think of the causes of Ld. Wellesley's secession, the principal of which seemed to him to be, his jealousy at having his dispatches commented upon or altered by the Cabinet; he could not bear that the exact phrases he used should not be allowed to stand. * * * afterwards told me he had once said he thought he was among a Cabinet of statesmen, but found them a set of critics.

Lds. Grey and Grenville, it seems, repented a little of the very decisive tone of their answer, and an attempt was really made by Ld. Holland to reopen the negotiation, so far as to say (whether to the Prince himself, or even the Duke, I did not learn) that probably an agreement might be made on the subject of the Peninsula, and if assurances were given that the Catholics should some time or other be satisfied, a *rapprochement* might eventually take place. How far this went, how it was received, or how it failed, I did not discover.

Dined at Miles Peter Andrews', in Cleveland Row; the party made expressly to relate a very remarkable story. A newspaper in the summer, for want of other matter, gave some extracts from the Memoirs of Mrs. Wells (the actress), in which she asserts Mr. Andrews

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had assured her he had seen the ghost of the wicked Ld. Lyttleton. Finding myself next to Mr. A. one evening in the House of Commons, I asked him what this assertion meant; to my surprise he answered it was true, or at least that he thought he saw the figure of Ld. L. at the time he died; but, said he, it is too long a story to tell here, and I have almost forgotten the circumstances, however, if you will dine with me, I will make a party to meet you, and will in the mean time try to recollect the particulars. This was the party, who were Ld. Palmerston, Charles Long, Sirs R. Peel and Wm. Sterling, young Peel, Wharton, Arbuthnot, Croker, and some others. When the cloth was removed, Andrews related his story, which was thus:—

[The story was, perhaps, reserved to be embodied in some other work, or its entry in his Diary was postponed to some more leisure moment.]

February 24th, 1812.—At Ld. Mulgrave's; he told me there was a report spread that the Catholic question was given up as a Ministerial question, and that every one was left to act as he pleased, as in the Slave Trade, but this was a strange perversion.

A spirited debate on Col. M'Mahon's place of Paymaster of Widows' Pensions.* Bankes, who moved to take it away, showed his usual illiberality when opposed in a favourite measure, and imputed to Perceval (whom at the same time he called his right honourable friend) a wish to pay court to the Prince,

* An office that had long before been specially reported to be a perfect sinecure, which ought to be abolished.

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though at the expense of the people. This well cut up by Wm. Fitzgerald, who asked why he preserved the form or used the language of friendship to a man of whom he could think and speak so meanly, or if he did not*, what were we to think of his sincerity in attempting to fix the imputation. There was a great deal of violence on both sides, and a great deal of hypocritical cant on our opponents', upon the old topics of economy and corruption. M'Donald (son of the Ld. Chief Baron) spoke well against sinecure places. Fitzgerald said it came with an ill grace from one who himself was a sinecure placeman, different from M'Mahon in this, that he had been so from a *schoolboy*. M'Donald, in reply, called him the Ld. of the Treasury who so *modestly* attacked him, and said he would give up his place when the goodly example was set him by others. We said across the House, why don't you set it? Perceval was ill, but made many good hits. Morris, one of the Northumberland party, spoke for us; Sheridan against us, but voted for us. Whitbread replied to Perceval with fury; said his offers at coalition had been treated with the *contempt* they deserved, and proposed making M'Mahon Serjeant to the House.† In the end the country gentlemen in the House abandoned us, and we divided 112 to 115, which gave them the victory, with which they were not a little elate. We failed through a mere want of exertion and vigilance.

* *Note by Mr. Ward.* — Bankes had afterwards the bad taste to call him to order, when he pressed this topic again in explanation.

† He was soon after appointed Private Secretary to the Prince Regent.

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The notices of business to our friends did not even state there would be a question on M'Mahon's place, so that those who were not present on Friday night, did not know the intended contest. The strongest challenge had been thrown out on the other side, yet Lds. Apsley and Arthur Somerset were allowed to go or remain in the country, Andrews, Sterling, Ashburnam, and very many others, stayed away from sheer ignorance. This made our defeat appear in the worst colours, for Ld. Percy and the Northumberland people (who never did so before) voted for us. Hirst, a D. of Norfolk's man, went away, as did all Canning's friends, while most of the Sidmouths voted with us, so that we appeared to have every advantage. Ld. Temple, in leaving the House, wished me joy of our auspicious commencement, and many happy returns, &c. &c.

Ld. Lowther walked home with me. He told me Ld. Tyrconnel had dined on Saturday at a dinner given by the Prince to his daughter, the company the D. and Duchess of York, Ld. and Lady Keith, Lds. Erskine, Lauderdale, Sheridan, and some others; that after the wine had gone round, though before the ladies retired, the Prince began to abuse the two oligarchs for their conduct in rejecting his offers — so violently that the little Princess (who, according to all precedent, hates her father's Ministers and loves the opposition) shed tears. She afterwards went to the opera, where seeing Ld. Grey she kissed her hand and smiled very graciously upon him. Ld. Tyrconnel added, that after dinner Lauderdale

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defended the answer of the two Lds., but Erskine was silent.

Feb. 25th, 1812.—All day at the Committee on American claims, and afterwards at the House on Brougham's motion on Droits, who spoke long, but was so cut down, in his answer, by Perceval that they did not attempt a division. Perceval much cheered, particularly by Bankes (perhaps a sort of *amende!*) The opposition, indeed, very thin and very quiet, and not at all indicating triumph. Perceval was this morning a long time with the Prince, who was perfectly satisfied with his conduct last night, directing his anger against the other side. Perhaps they know this and are disappointed. There was certainly a sort of idea, on both sides, that the event might indispose the Prince to his new Ministry, who, however, appeared in their usual spirits. Ld. Castlereagh sat on the Treasury Bench, for the first time since the rupture of the Cabinet, in 1809. M'Mahon told Swan that he would not on any account have kept his place, even had we carried it; but wished we had done so, if only by one, that he might have had the grace of resigning.

Feb. 27th, 1812.—At the House. Great struggle on Turton's motion for a Committee on the State of the Nation. He has nothing to do with, and is not owned by, the other side. Having, however, got possession of the House, they resolved to make their stand under his motion, for which purpose they sat up Tighe as his seconder, who, in a very long speech, developed their opinions and principles.

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The greatest expectation both in and out doors as to the event, and a great "*whip*" made, perhaps, on both sides, but certainly by them. In aid of this, the report on the Catholic question being given up, was previously much made use of. Indeed, they themselves seem to have been deceived upon it, for a meeting was yesterday called at Ponsonby's to consider it. Whitbread who dined at old Lady Grey's, where he met Col. Welsh, left them early to attend it, and seemed much abstracted. Dillon, however, (who was there) let it all out. A sort of communication had certainly been made to them from the Prince (whether through Ld. Moira or Sheridan I did not learn), which it was supposed amounted to the full effect alluded to, but Ponsonby added, he also received a communication from the Ministerial side which told him it was a mistake. However, in the debate they were resolved to draw it all out, and accordingly Tierney said he had reason to know that in a very high quarter it was imagined the question was to be left open, and not be made a point by Ministers, which if not so, there must have been the strangest misapprehension in that quarter. Perceval put it all right, by saying, that all that was meant was not to preclude those from acting together *now*, who *now* thought exactly the same upon the question; that a time, indeed, might come when they might differ, in which case the Prince must decide; that he (Perceval) was farther from the Catholics than Ld. Castlereagh, but both were at present far enough to be united in the same

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sentiments; that when Ld. Castlereagh thought the time was come for the Emancipation, if he differed and the Prince should determine against him, he should be ready to make his bow and depart from his service with the same sentiments of respect and gratitude for his graciousness towards him as he felt while he continued in it. (This was much hailed by the House.) He reminded them that they themselves had consented to remain in office with one another, although there was the greatest difference of opinion on this very question (alluding to the Sidmouths), and had continued for a time, though the Sovereign was eternally resolved against it, and though they said it was of *vital* consequence to the Empire; it was not, therefore, for them to question the possibility of those acting together, who for the present agreed in every thing. The whole of his speech, particularly this part of it, seemed to make great impression on the House. Ld. Castlereagh spoke better than ever I remembered him to have done. He pushed straight forward at Whitbread and charged home upon him. He agreed that he had put the question manfully forward, and that it was neither more nor less than who should be the Ministers; for this purpose he allowed that the Country had a right to know his sentiments on the Catholic question, which were just what they always had been, viz., that they should be emancipated, but at a more proper time than now. This occasioned some laughter and murmurs on the other side. He, however, pushed them on the head of Ld. Grenville's

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abandonment of the veto, and his whole system as laid down in his letter to Ld. Fingal, which he called upon him to stand by or show why he had renounced it. If he stood by it, where were the guards required for the Crown and the Church; if he abandoned those guards who could follow him? Whitbread's speech had been much confined to party topics and the necessity for consistency, on account of which he said he would rather sink ten thousand fathoms deep in the earth than join with Perceval on his present principles; he, however, paid very high and liberal compliments to his abilities and his integrity; said he had never denied or withheld his opinion on them, and that *no man alive was superior to him in powers which were fully competent to his situation;* nevertheless, he differed with him radically; and (M. Montague having mentioned him by the designation of member for Bedford) he said he could have no higher title than that as an independent member of Parliament. The interest of the night, next to this, was to know how Canning would vote. Early in the debate, the leaders of each side wishing to hear the other first, persisted in abstaining from offering themselves so long, that the question was called for and the gallery actually cleared. The great topics, therefore, not having been touched upon, and, as he said, no information having been given to warrant a Committee, he knew nothing about the matter, and walked out with his ten friends. The turn, however, which the debate had now taken called him forth, he said, and though in all other

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points, particularly as to Spain, he entirely coincided with his *Rt. Hon. friend* (for so he called Perceval), he disagreed with him as to Ireland, and would vote for the Committee on that ground alone. In other words, he was glad of an opportunity to vote against him upon any ground. His speech was very able; he said he retained his sentiments as to the Catholics, as well as Ld. C., but asked if nothing had happened since they agreed, and he alluded, though very delicately, to the state of the King. Conceiving himself released from all the old difficulties, he therefore thought the time for emancipation was *actually* arrived. This carried ten or eleven votes to the other side; all the Norfolk people, except Hirst (the Duke's agent), went with them too, and Ld. Wellesley's two friends, Sir H. Montgomery and Prendergast, his son did not vote. On the other hand, the D. of Northumberland's friends, Sir J. Sebright, and Sir G. Warrender, the Sidmouths, Bankes, Wilberforce, and the saints, voted with us. Sir C. Pole went away the moment before the division. The result was we beat them by 73; 209 to 136. I believe neither side was satisfied, but they more than we, as they did not rest so much on the largeness of their numbers as on the smallness of ours. The next night, the D. of Gloucester asked Tierney in the House of Lds. whether he was content with the division. He said very much so, as it showed we could get no attendance, that our friends were hanging back, and that on Tuesday (on the Orders in Council) he thought the majority would not exceed

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40. Swan instantly laid a bet with M'Donald that it would exceed 60; and thus our party spirit proceeds. The whole debate, indeed, was a political trial of strength, or, as Perceval humorously termed it, a motion for a Committee to inquire into the State of *Parties*, rather than the State of the Nation. Let me not omit what gave me and all his friends sincere pleasure, that Frederick Robinson highly distinguished himself in the best young man's speech I ever heard in the Parliament. Peel, when he has spoken, has been more flowery, and with more classical allusion; but in readiness, in clear, forcible, and demonstrative language, and in the appearance of an old and able debater, Robinson beat him, and indeed all his contemporaries. Whitbread, who spoke after him, paid him very handsome compliments. M. Montague made as usual a long and not very temperate speech, which, with its odd irritabilities, provoked Romilly to say to me, that it was shame for grown men to be forced to listen. Hirst did not vote, because, as he told Swan, he knew the D. of Norfolk was in a negotiation with the Prince, and should not therefore vote till it was settled. I did not know that it was still so open. Bourne, which I am glad of, voted with us.

Feb. 28*th*, 1812.—At Ld. Mulgrave's. He said there was nothing to which Robinson might not look. I wrote to him to tell him what we all thought of his speech, and begged him now he knew his strength to proceed.

A great debate in the H. of Lds. on the Orders in

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Council.* Ld. Bathurst very much distinguished indeed. Ld. Holland said to the Chancellor his speech was the best he ever heard on our side. Ld. Mulgrave thought it the best he ever heard at all, except from Pitt; that he gave a severe flogging to Ld. Grenville, horsing him on the shoulders of Ld. Lansdowne, between whose temper and urbanity as well as ability (made more remarkable by his *youth*†), and the coarse overbearing manners of the other, he drew a most pointed and invidious comparison.

Ld. Kenyon dined with me to-day. He is as hostile as ever to opposition, particularly the Grenvilles.

Feb. 29th, 1812.—At the opera with Ld. and Lady Mulgrave. Many political people there. Those of the opposition buzzed about that the majority would be much diminished on Tuesday on the Orders in Council. They count it seems on the merchants in the House, many of whom no doubt are sufferers, and will vote as sufferers generally do. They still say the Prince had mistaken the arrangement as to freedom in the Cabinet on the Catholic question; but Ld. Mulgrave told me he had been with him a full hour one day this week, that he was particularly gracious and explicit, and understood the intentions of Ministers perfectly well.

March 1st, 1812.—Dined at Sir Walter Stirling's. The company Ld. Desart, Wm. Dundas, Wallace,

* These Orders in Council, entailing the necessity for licenses, which involved a whole tissue of forgery, fraud, and deception, became so obnoxious to America that they were revoked, as far as referred to her, on the 22d June — *but too late*.

† At this time 31, and only two years in the House of Lords.

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Swan, young Bishop, (Sir Cecil's son), Wharton, Miles Andrews, R. Wellesley, Croker, Peel, and W. Fitzgerald. R. Wellesley has resigned the seat; he could not do otherwise and continue to withhold his vote. Canning is to oppose on Tuesday, though he framed the Orders in Council*, and said he would defend the principle for ever. But he is dissatisfied it seems with Rose's mode of administering the licenses. He is dissatisfied with not being in power, and at the preference shown to Castlereagh. Betted five guineas to-day with Mrs. Wharton that Perceval would not be in the Ministry this time three years.

With respect to Canning's anger at being left out of the Ministry, I am not surprised at it, considering what passed between him and Perceval the year before last; Perceval wished to strengthen himself, and, if possible, to unite under one Government all who had ever served under Pitt. But to do this no preference could be shown, and he therefore wished to sound all parties at once. He began it seems with Canning, to whom he made a communication on the subject, but observing that he could make no partial offer to any particular person, he only wished to know his sentiments in the event of his being able to form a junction of all. Canning replied that he had no objection to any one, that to form a strong Government he would serve with Ld. Sidmouth himself. Perceval went on with his scheme. Ld. Castlereagh said the time was not come for him to decide upon the question. But the Sidmouths would have nothing to do with

* They had been originally issued in 1807, and extended in 1809.

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Canning. The whole went off and Canning never heard from Perceval again. Now, however, instead of the proposed attempt at *union* a *partial* offer *is* made, and that to Canning's personal opponent to his exclusion. The Sidmouths also are talked of. Flesh and blood cannot stand this; and, *therefore*, he is at length, though with all the form and phrase of Rt. Hon. friend, in determined opposition.

Peel said, at Sir W. Stirling's, that a letter was talked of from Ld. Grey to the Prince, defending his conduct from the attacks upon it by the latter, at his dinner at Carlton House last Saturday. *Nous verrons mais je n'en crois rien.*

March 2nd, 1812.—This morning calling on Sp. Stanhope, I found him and Ld. Sidmouth coming out. Stanhope told me the latter feared an American war, to prevent which he thought it worth while to give up the Orders in Council as now administered.

At the rehearsal of the Ancient Music with Lady Mulgrave and Mrs. Bourne. Dudley North there; he said our majority was to dwindle to-morrow on the Orders in Council, but we should still beat them. I told him March weather and the incipient frost would send up our fox-hunting friends, and that our numbers would grow; that his side had few or no sportsmen, or at least their sport was hunting Ministers instead of foxes. He said he was tired of it, particularly as, from the circumstance that sons now chose to follow their fathers' opinions, the chace was hopeless. However, he bitterly added, the Princes had better take care or the people may find they can do better

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without them. When the old King swayed he kept everything together by his firmness and consistency, and was respected; but were he to recover he would be the first to blame his son for his want of steadiness. I could not help laughing at this, and asked if he would not rather be pleased with him for treading in his own steps. The remark is of no farther consequence than to show the spirit that disappointment has generated. Had the Prince turned us out, and taken Dudley North's friends, we should never have heard of the discovery by the people that they could do without him. I told North he was at least dutiful in the decencies of filial affection; for I had heard at the last Ancient Music he was shocked to find one of the selections was the Coronation Anthem, and said it must either be changed or he could not appear. It was accordingly withdrawn by the D. of Cumberland who had ordered it.

At the House of Commons a very ridiculous report set on foot by the other side, that Ld. Lonsdale had sent a message to Perceval that if he attempted to form a junction with Ld. Sidmouth, he would withdraw his support. I contradicted it everywhere, but they build much upon Ld. Lowther's going out of town (which he did on Friday night), and on John Lowther's never appearing; Long, indeed, told me he had written to Ld. Lonsdale, to tell him that the enemy pushed hard, and that we consequently wanted our friends, and asked after John Lowther and Ld. Muncaster. Ld. L. answered this morning; he was sorry at the difficulty, that his brother had paired, and that

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Ld. Muncaster was always ready to come on being sent for: but Long truly observed that this was but indifferent support, as no one but must know the situation of affairs, and that to wait 300 miles off for a treasury letter was not the way to carry on the war. There is, however, no doubt of the zeal and attachment of our excellent friends.

At the House I spoke to Perceval about the clerks of the Lt.-General of the Ordnance. These places are absolutely sinecures, with not even a pretence or semblance of anything to do. One of them, with above 500*l.* a year, is held by an officer serving in Portugal, the other by an inspecting Field-officer at Halifax. The Military Commission proposes, very properly, to abolish them; and I proposed that Government should have the grace of doing this, and not wait to be beat into it as they had been on the question of M'Mahon. I told him I had already spoken to Sir T. Trigg upon it, who had expressed himself, and behaved with much clearness and liberality on the subject, disdaining to defend the places on any ground of utility, and only having retained them because he had found them equally sinecures under his predecessor, and (from nothing having been said) having supposed the patronage a known douceur to an old officer like himself, but that he was ready to relinquish, &c. &c. I asked if I should propose to the House to leave them on this ground during the possession of Sir T. Trigg, but to be abolished whenever he should vacate. Perceval said he thought this might have an ill air, *as it would be an*

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affectation of generosity at the expense only of our enemies. This, however, supposes Sir T. Trigg would go out with us whenever we should move, which is not the case. It was agreed that I should talk to Ld. Mulgrave about it, and then farther again to Mr. Perceval. The House of Lds. was sitting, and I went there immediately to Ld. Mulgrave, who came to me as soon as he saw me, rather amused with Ld. Grenville, who was tearing his passion to rags and tatters on the Nottingham rioters' bill. I mentioned the clerkships to Ld. M., who said he had long felt exactly as I did about them, and had been only restrained from proposing to abolish them by delicacy towards General Trigg. I told him what Mr. Perceval had said, and it was settled I should endeavour to arrange the matter with Sir Thomas. I was the more pleased with this, because I happened a few days ago to say to Lord M. that I lamented Perceval should so often make it a point of honour to resist all reforms, on the ground of defending the prerogative of the Crown, that if he would only give into a few, and moderate reforms, he would not only do good to the country, but would take the only game they had out of the hands of opposition, and play it infinitely better, since he was a far greater favourite with the people. Ld. Mulgrave scouted this, and deprecated all submission to commissioners of inquiry merely as such.

Seeing Ld. Melville in the H. of Lds. I congratulated him on the reports of his going to the Admiralty. He laughed and said he had heard them too, and that Ld. Buckinghamshire was to come to the Control.

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At home at eleven—a note from Lady * * * to say they still heard Ld. Sidmouth * was coming in.

March 3rd, 1812.—High expectations formed of to-night's debate by the opposition. All their friends sent for, on the ground that our division on Thursday was a bad one, that our supporters were falling off, and that the Orders in Council and licenses were so unpopular, on account of the decay of trade and manufactures, that we should be deserted by great numbers, particularly the merchants. Wharton gave into this opinion. Great bets as to numbers; both sides supposing ours would be much lower than on Thursday. Many of their friends came, and ours too. Arbuthnot wrote me to write to my Buckinghamshire neighbours, the Drakes. I saw and spoke to the second, asking how long he staid in town. I did not know how he felt at present in politics. He smiled. but coloured too, saying, "O! I am still with you, I hope I do not so soon change, and I shall certainly stay for the debate." He said, however, his brother Tyrwhitt would not be in town; and supposing he was hunting in Oxfordshire, I would not disturb him. Both gentlemen however came, and about thirty others, some of them a great distance, as Ld. Clive, who was hunting in Shropshire. On the other hand Coke, I believe, came up from Holkham, and Ld. Temple, who was forced to attend the grand jury at the Aylesbury assizes, went down in the morning and

* Lord Buckinghamshire and Lord Sidmouth received their several appointments and were gazetted about a month after this.

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returned at night, after the bills were found, having had the pleasure, as he said, of fining me for not doing so too. The ridiculous report that Ld. Lonsdale had withdrawn from Percéval was revived, and for a time countenanced by Mr. Lowther remaining in Yorkshire, and Ld. Lowther having gone out of town on Friday night. The former, however, had paired for a season with Hale Wharton, and the latter with Ld. Apthorpe with whom he was gone to hunt in Northamptonshire. Long and I soon counteracted the report.

The debate was sufficiently animated, and lasted till five in the morning. Brougham opened it in a long declamatory speech of very loud tone, in which all the sins which the Board of Trade had committed, and all that they had not committed, were called to their account. It was answered by Rose, as Vice-President, with a long string of facts and dates, heavy enough. Baring replied with a speech still heavier, but which did not prevent the House being very crowded, above 400 members being present. Canning spoke about midnight, and as he had been the most active supporter of the Orders in Council, both in the Cabinet and the debates in the House, we were curious to know how political ingenuity, would help him to an argument in favour of the vote he was to give. Happily for the cause of political virtue he failed, and failed so wofully that not even any gilding could be derived from his oratory to hide the dirt. He was forced to have recourse to a misrepresentation of G. Rose (whom he studiously called the Vice-President, without any *friendly* appellation),

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and whom he supposed to have said that the Orders in Council were *not* a retaliatory measure against the enemy, but a precaution against the commercial rivalry of neutrals. His next procedure was to plunge into a sea of inconsistencies, little short of falsehood, or at best what no man in the House believed. In fact, he did not blush to say that he knew nothing about the licenses when he was in Government, though he approved the Orders in Council; and that when he imposed a nominal blockade of the French ports he never dreamt that any trade was to be permitted any more than in a real blockade. Perceval, who never was in more force, nor spoke better, demolished him piecemeal, and asked if he had forgotten the measure they had so often fought together *against* the side on which he was now going to vote, and whether it was not that the French having said that no nation on earth should trade with us, our answer under the orders was, that no nation should trade with them except through us; but if so, how could the trade be carried on except through our permission, that is, by licenses? Marryat, a coarse man but clear speaker, struck the discontented ex-Secretary hard, for after pointing out his inconsistency when out with his conduct when in office, offered to prove to the House that 15,000 licenses were granted while he was in the Cabinet, all of which he knew, or ought to have known. There, however, wanted not arguments to prove the total want of consistency or principle in this wretched conduct, which he so vainly strove to explain, that

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he concluded the first dull and flat speech I ever heard him make, without the smallest support from the House, and sat down without a cheer, and almost without its being known that he had finished. While he was speaking I sat under the gallery between two strong opposition men, Western and Byng (members for Middlesex), who ridiculed the line he took all the way through, though conducive to their views; and the contempt of his conduct which I heard expressed from various quarters (full as many on the side of our opponents as our own) is no bad comment upon the fair feeling of the times, which will not tolerate apostasy, however set off by the splendour of abilities or the powers of eloquence. When in the division afterwards Dillon told me he stood solitarily with his back against the wall, not speaking or spoken to by any one during all the time they were out. Towards the end of the debate, the Canning party took a new turn by making a direct attack on the Prince. Ld. Granville Levison, it seems, as member for Staffordshire, had been desired to present a petition to the Regent from various suffering manufacturers. He wrote on the subject to Ryder, to know when there would be a levee. Ryder told him no time was fixed, but offered to transmit the petition in the usual way. This was refused by Ld. G. L., who wrote for instructions to his constituents, who forbade him sending it through the Secretary, and desired he would wait for a levee. None is yet appointed, and it was made a personal crime to the Regent, hailed by great cries from the opposition, because this Ld., in a pet, chose

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not to do his duty, for he might have presented the petition in person in his quality of Privy Counsellor, and as he chose to refuse the offer of the Secretary of State, the Prince could not be supposed to have any farther knowledge of the affair. It is extraordinary to what a ridiculous height our party squabbles carried this affair. Ld. Milton being in the same situation in regard to Yorkshire, bitter complaints were the next day published of the Prince's neglect of his subjects in the paper of the oligarchic faction, the M. Chronicle. The good old King is excused for his conduct in this matter on account of his infirmities; but for the Prince (who is hardly less infirm just now) there is no mercy,—that Prince who three weeks ago was the most accomplished, upright, generous, and affable man in Europe. Such difference does the little circumstance of expecting or despairing of power make among politicians! Harry Wrottesley told me with some glee, that this story of Ld. G. Levison would do us more harm than any thing else with the country; but the amusement is that the attempt should come from the quarter it did.

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The debate closed by a speech from Whitbread, whose usual force was diminished by a pain in the face. He, however, betted that we did not vote sixty majority. Tierney offered me the same in a House of 350. I offered one to Ld. Temple, that we had seventy, without limiting numbers. The result was, upon 360, besides tellers, we had a majority of seventy-two, only one less than on Thursday. Poor

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Ponsonby came out of his bed at four in the morning to head his party. He had lately broken his rib, and voted in a loose great coat. Dent, who was also ill, came about the same time to Canning. Sheridan and Calcraft, friends of the Prince, but not of us, went away. All his other friends, being our friends too, staid. Tierney told me Sheridan meant to secede altogether, and vote no more, except for the Catholics. Swan said that he had gathered from Calcraft, that he also would vote no more, unless the Prince came to an explanation with him as he had done with Michael Angelo; but if he did, unlike Michael, he would side with Government. This is what Horace Walpole would call crossing over and figuring in. Thank heaven, our path is straight forward!

March 4th, 1812.—Last night's division seems to have decided things as to the Houses, and the attempts of the enemy must be confined to undermining us in the closet if they can. Ld. Moira, who is totally ruined, talks of going to settle at Vienna; as he will not join the Government, and cannot live here. Some virtue in this! We triumphed last night solely through the country gentlemen, who came up on purpose to vote. At the same time not one merchant left us, for Stanniforth, the only one who generally sides with Ministers, but who voted against them on this question, had always disapproved it. Marryat disapproved too, but said to me he would not let "those fellows" take the thing out of the hands of Government. At supper, in the coffee house, Ld. Temple said they had gained Marryat. I told him this. Then

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said he, "he is not worth having." Wilberforce, H. Thornton, and Babbington, who sided with us on Thursday, now left us. Perceval told the first, the motion had been framed not so much to meet the true question, as, by affecting general inquiry, to catch particular votes, and he believed particularly to catch him. His reasons were truly ridiculous, and worthy only the first day of a young and new member. He thought the Ministers quite right, and *therefore* would have an inquiry to make the people think so too! Gascoigne, and several other friends who generally support, were *obliged* to leave us; and all that Canning could muster, in number eleven, were against us. He has now, therefore, done all the harm he possibly can; his strength is measured, and he finds himself disappointed in the fond idea that he could influence the balance for or against Government. His next step will be to coalesce in form with the Grenvilles, which *he* will do, and *they* allow, if the Foxites will let him. At present, however, they reject him. Ld. Wellesley will do so, certainly; and has assuredly earned it by submitting to humble his *two* friends by forcing them to vote last night against a question, for which they had been voting regularly almost to that very instant. These are the sentiments that prevail in our parties and conversations to-day on last night's debate.

I spoke to Sir T. Trigg to-day on the propriety of abolishing the two clerks' places under him in the Ordnance, and told him Ld. Mulgrave's and Mr. Perceval's opinion. He agreed to the abolition in the

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very handsomest manner; said they could not be defended on the score of utility for a moment, and he had only retained them as very old and *allowed* patronage to an old officer to his followers. He thus gives up the pleasure (a great one to him) of bestowing 700*l.* a year on deserving men, who had followed him through various commands for the last twelve years, a worthy sacrifice at the shrine of patriotic economy.

March 5th, 1812.—At Ld. Mulgrave's. He said the last debate seemed to have settled things as to the House, and that nothing could be more favourable than the Prince with whom he had been the day before; that the personal virulence shown did us good; it was meant as a bully, but they had mistaken their man; that he had never liked them, and now ceased to fear them: he pointed particularly at the folly of Ld. G. Levison's attack. We transacted Ordnance business, in which he was highly pleased with the Lt.-General's * behaviour.

During the debate on Tuesday, Dillon came and sat by me for half an hour, and related some curious particulars of the Regent's conduct on the late Catholic question. There was a meeting it seems at Ponsonby's at which he, among ninety gentlemen, was present. Ponsonby sent for them in order to relate a message which he had received through Sheridan from the Regent. The message was, that the Catholic question was so far given up by Ministers, that it was

* Upon the abolition of the two sinecure places.

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no longer to be considered as a Ministerial question; and that every one was to be allowed to take what line he would, without being considered as renouncing engagements to the Government. Ponsonby, however added, that at the same time that he received this, he had also received a communication from some, either of the Ministers or persons nearly connected with them (I did not learn which), by which he was given to understand this was all a misapprehension, and what was settled by no means amounted to this; at any rate, he added, as the channel through which the message came was not the proper authoritative mode of conveying a communication from the Sovereign, which ought to be done by the responsible Ministers of that Sovereign, he conceived that no notice ought to be taken of it, as in the shape of a serious proposal giving action to any positive resolution on their part. The message, therefore, it was determined produced no alteration in the conduct of the party, who all agreed with Ponsonby, and who, as Dillon said, were all actuated with the most violent indignation against the Prince. If it in any way resembled his own, it must have been violent indeed.

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I mention these things as some sort of index of the tone of his friends and companions, which, though sometimes prone to exaggerate it, he is sure always to catch.

March 7th, 1812.—The sentiments, if not the language, of the above-mentioned conversation appeared this morning in a long and violent invective against

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the Prince in the Mor. Chronicle. All former opinions of him are retracted, all respect and duty renounced; he is a renegado to friendship, to his ancient promises, and even to the principies which seated his family on the throne. Attachment to him is therefore denied as wholly unworty; and such is the rage and inconsistency, that Perceval, although complimented, almost in the same breath, as an honest, though bigoted man, deserves, it is hinted to be placed in the pillory. There are also some very impudent versesi n another paper, reflecting insolently on both the King and the Prince, in which the letter inviting the coalition is parodied. Everybody talks of these libels, and most with displeasure. Their rage, howevever, will do good, for it is sure to unite the moderate and honest part of the community in defence of the throne and its rights.

Ld. Lonsdale wrote to me this morning. He is anxious to know what arrangements are made, who sided with the Ministry, and who, to use his own words, "condeseend to rank themselves amongst the members of a faction as aspiring as it is, and as he hopes it will prove itself (if good sense and principles have not taken their departure), impotent and harmless."

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A report everywhere spread that the Sidmouth arrangements are settled. I went, however, to the Treasury, where Arbuthnot told me tnings were only *en train;* that his Lordship's terms were enormous — three seats in the Cabinet, besides others; and

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that he did not think him worth them. Ld. Melville had been offered the Admiralty, but nothing was fixed. He asked how Ld. Lonsdale felt; and I told him, as he always had done respecting Ld. Sidmouth, but not so as to induce him to withdraw his support. He said he expected to see Perceval in an hour, and would let me know at the Ordnance if anything was settled. Nothing came, and I wrote to Ld. Lonsdale accordingly, but wished for the projected union as a necessary concentration of disjoined parties.

March 8th, 1812.—Mrs. Ward and I dined at Ld. and Lady Hampdens. The party, Ld. and Lady Melville, Ld. Sidney, Sir David Wedderburne, Mr. and Mrs. Magens, and some others. In the evening a more numerous assembly, and the day cheerful and pleasant. Ld. Melville told me, aside, that he was to have the Admiralty, and asked some questions as to the interior when I was at the board. He talked, too, of the negotiation with the Sidmouths, and said their terms were not only high, but they stand out also upon some principles of conduct which they demanded should be conceded. I afterwards understood they related to the licenses under the Orders in Council, which (the licenses) Ld. S. blames. Ld. Melville asked about Ld. Lonsdale's sentiments. I told him I knew formerly he had wished to push his father, the late Ld. Melville, against Ld. Sidmouth, but that he would have supported a junction of them all. He said he believed so; and that when the Duke of Portland's Government broke up, and Perceval came to the head of things, his father had written to him from

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Scotland to say, he would support a junction with Ld. Sidmouth. Ld. Desart came in, whom I took to Mrs. Hope's. He lamented (and sincerely) the loss and situation of R. Wellesley through his father's conduct.

Went in the morning, with Ld. Mulgrave, to see his picture, by Jackson, which he is going to give me. He mentioned Vansittart, if Chancellor of the Exchequer *, as likely to give Perceval much assistance.

My brother, who is as downright as he is zealous, dining yesterday with Ld. Erskine, at Romilly's (the former Solicitor-General), asked him abruptly when he had been at Carlton House last. Erskine, rather nettled, exclaimed, "I at Carlton House! Sir, I have not been there these ten days, and mean never to set foot in it again!"

Sir Walter Farquhar told Mrs. Ward he had met Ld. Erskine at Carlton House twice. So like a mistress (in quarrelling) is a Prince Regent!

March 9th, 1812.—At the House, where I moved the Ordnance Estimates. Having cast them into rather a new and improved form, I thought it right to open them at large, discussing principles as well as stating accounts. Well heard for an hour. They were attacked by Tarleton and Freemantle, but with so little knowledge of the subject that the answers were easy. Freemantle very complimentary. Bankes and Huskisson approved their principle; and, upon the whole, they were complimented, and went off, after two

* He became Chancellor of the Exchequer when poor Perceval was past all "assistance" upon earth.

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hours and a half's debate, in a satisfactory style. Perceval, Ryder, and Long, among whom I sat, though they cheered all my statements and explanations to the House, rallied me all the time aside. When Tarleton said there was not a piece of cannon at Weedon, and I answered there were 140, Perceval, under my elbow, said, with affected gravity, he dared to say there were not ten. When I said privately I was serious in pressing the necessity for the place of Master-General's Secretary (held by Phipps), they all said, if so, I lost all merit for skill and ability; that they were in hopes I was arguing against my conscience, &c. &c.

March 10*th*, 1812.—On the Report, some further conversation on the Estimates, and a contract made by Pole, eight years ago, much attacked by the Commissioners of Inquiry, was brought forward by Bankes. This put Pole in a passion, who said it was a libel; he had not read it, and never would read a libel on himself. Tierney said (laughingly, not on his legs), that was very hard, as the country paid 10,000*l.* a year to Commissioners for that very purpose, and yet he would not read them!

Received a letter this morning from Ld. Lonsdale. He hopes Lady Mary is better. I earnestly hope so too. It would be dreadful to lose one of the best and pleasantest, most unaffected, elegant, and sensible creatures in the world, in the flower of her age. Upon politics, he says, "I am very much obliged to you for your account of the state of politics: the attacks of the opposition on the Prince are the most scandalous and most mischievous I ever heard, and I think the

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liberty the papers use will produce some means of repressing their insolence. I fear those who are best acquainted with the Prince consider him as wanting firmness—a quality which in his father was the great bulwark which supported the Government and the country in times of the most alarming pressure—and they hope by their malignity and impudence to awe him into a submission to their influence. In this I trust they will be disappointed. But what can Ld. Sidmouth do towards resisting this torrent? The country I believe have the greatest confidence in Mr. Perceval and the present Government, and the miserable addition of numbers which such a coalition would give you, can add but very little indeed to your physical strength. What you would gain in numbers I am sure you would lose in character; but you know enough of my feelings on this subject to be assured that I shall be very sorry indeed if the arrangement you hinted at takes place. It is solely to yourself I say this, and beg you will not mention this opinion of mine, as I can only lament that it is not likely to avert it. Why does not Mr. Perceval dissolve the Parliament?"

Sitting next to Perceval in the House, I told him of this last question of Ld. L.'s. He asked "Why, would you make well better?" I said, true, you are well now, but are you sure of being so next year? He shrugged up and said, "Certainly there was no answering for that*;" and seemed to ponder the ques-

* His assassination was just two *months* after this!

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tion. Speaking of the reports that Ld. Lonsdale had given him notice of withdrawing his support if he allowed Ld. Sidmouth to join, he said, it was amazing to what the enemy had recourse in that way; that after M'Mahon's question was lost, he had come to Arburthnot (or Wharton) and said, I have been told that you never were in earnest about the matter, nay further, that Mr. Perceval himself had written to his connection Mr. Drummond, (and to another person under his influence), desiring them to stay away, as he did not wish to gain the question. I don't believe a word of it, said M'Mahon, but I tell it you to show you what weapons are used to attack you. In the conversation I told Perceval that Ld. Lonsdale thought as formerly of the inexpediency of a junction with Ld. Sidmouth; but, as formerly also, would support any arrangement which the Government thought necessary for its strength. He told me nothing was fixed, for that the negotiation went on by correspondence, and very slowly, but that when settled he would let me know. He agreed with me that the violence of the other side would ruin them with the Prince, and was the best game they could play for him. I told him I had seen Ld. Hampden, who had said he should like a step in the peerage, and I observed, lightly, you should make him an earl. He said he had been offered the Bed-chamber, which he had declined, and that I must not put the thing in his head, for there were so many wanting to be made earls there was no acting upon it. The debate coming on, the conversation ceased.

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March 11*th*, 1812. — Ld. Lowther wrote me from Cottesmere.

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As to politics, he thinks our late divisions bad. He begged me to facilitate something for Milnes at the Admiralty. Ld. Lonsdale having also sent me a request from his *protégé*, Capt. Buchanan, to get him employed, I sent his case to Ld. Melville to consider, when he should come to the Admiralty.

March 12*th*. — Ld. Melville answered me very civilly; thought the case a hard one, and wished much to oblige Ld. Lonsdale; but said "I knew too much of the Admiralty, to suppose a first Ld. in possession, much less in reversion, could promise specifically; but he would take the matter into favourable consideration, which I have no doubt he will. Nothing yet settled as to the Sidmouths. Wrote largely to Ld. Lonsdale.

A great levee at Carlton House; most of the opposition there. I was lazy, and would not go, but employed myself more actively at the office. I am told the Prince was very stiff indeed to Lauderdale, and would scarcely speak to him. The account of the difference between them, at the Carlton House dinner on Saturday se'nnight, was, it seems, published so immediately in an Edinburgh newspaper, that it must have been sent down as soon as possible after the transaction took place, and as the Prince had shaken hands with Lauderdale before they parted, this was deemed (as it was) a breach of hospitality

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and gentlemanly feeling. Old Lady Grey told Mrs. Welsh she heard the Prince was very cold to Charles (meaning her son, Ld. Grey); some one observed, the coldness seemed all on the side of the Earl, not of the Regent. In fact, the Prince talked very graciously to him, for which he was abused in terms, as a dissembler and a hypocrite, in the Morning Chronicle, next day.

In the Times of this morning there was a long piece of reasoning, to show that though Perceval was a very honest man, and had good principles as to the war which he carried on with success, yet his bigotry would risk the empire in Ireland, and therefore he ought to be dismissed; that Lds. Grey and Grenville had good principles as to Ireland, but even dangerously wrong as to the war, and therefore they ought not to succeed. There were two, however, Ld. Wellesley and Canning, who were right as to both points, and it was hoped they would ultimately be placed at the head of the councils. It is thought by Dyson (who is acquainted with him) that this is written by Canning himself. *Valeat quantum.*

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March 13*th*, 1812. — Ld. Kenyon dined with me. He is as stanch as ever in his attachment to Government, and his hatred of *all* the opposition. He wishes much for the talked-of junction with the Sidmouths.

March 14*th*, 1812. — On the other hand, the following letter from Ld. Lonsdale, received this morning, states *e contra* very powerful arguments against it. At the tidings announced in the first part of it, of his

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daughter's amended health, nobody can rejoice more than myself.

" Cottesmere, March 13. 1813.

" My dear Sir,

" Though my thanks for your kindness ought with me to have the precedence, yet I flatter myself you would much more rejoice that my letter should begin with a subject which it is very agreeable to us to think is in any degree interesting to you, and tell you that Mary is daily improving, and her medical attendant has every reason to be satisfied with the progress she has made.

" As to Ld. Sidmouth, I have never had reason to change my opinion respecting him, and his conduct last year on the subject of the Dissenters, has, if any thing, rendered him a still more objectionable person. Intolerant principles have very unjustly been imputed to Mr. Perceval. Against Ld. Sidmouth the same charge has been made, and perhaps with as little reason; but it was very indiscreet, at least, to raise a cry, which he was the cause of doing last year, when no circumstance occurred to render his interposition necessary; it had the effect of exciting a ferment which will not easily subside, and which at least has shown what a formidable host the Dissenters can assemble whenever their interests are touched. I don't like the stipulations proposed by this champion for the Church, whatever they may be, because I am satisfied that all the forms as well

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as the existence of our ecclesiastical establishment are safe in the hands of Mr. Perceval, in whom it is impossible any one can place a higher confidence, or entertain a more perfect esteem and regard for, than I do. Perhaps my opinions may be rather singular on these points; but I disapprove of the heat (an intemperate one as I think) with which various parties are now prosecuting the separate schemes for the advancement of religon; and I am a little ashamed and much incensed at the schism which prevails at Cambridge on this subject, from which, fortunately, the sister university is still free.

"I had no intention of entering into this discussion, which I hope you will excuse, having intended to confine myself solely to thanking you for what you have done for Captain Richardson, and to assure you how much I am at all times most truly yours,

"LONSDALE."

I afterwards communicated to Perceval the flattering expressions in the letter that related to himself, at which he was much and unaffectedly pleased.

Met Ld. Temple, who turned back with me, and began a long talk on politics. He said the reported intention of *dissolving* would be a hazardous and bold experiment. I replied, "True; but we are very bold." He said our boldness might destroy us; and asked what majority we expected on the Catholic petition. I answered, as it was not a question like one of reform or corruption, on which the county

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members would be afraid to go to their constituents, I thought we should have our usual superiority, and if a very full House, a hundred and fifty. He said he would only give us seventy.* I replied then the question was lost. He spoke respectfully of Perceval; much the reverse of the Prince (who, he said, he thought would betray us yet), and laughed at the attempt of Lord Wellesley and Canning to feel their way, in the paper they had put out before alluded to. I lamented they would not approximate, at least so far as to ascertain whether it was possible to make some little sacrifices on both sides. He said Perceval had made it impossible, even *in limine*, by his public declarations as to the Catholics. He laughed at the phrase of "early friends" in the Prince's letter, and said the Duke of York had made a little mistake: it was wrong directed, and ought to have been addressed to George Hanger and Travis the Jew. He asked the real cause of quarrel with Ld. Wellesley. I told him I really believed jealousy of authorship; that he could not bear to have his despatches criticised,—a hint I gave him in friendship, when his party took Lord W. to themselves,—for I knew Lord Grenville was a terrible critic, and might destroy things again. He seemed amused, and finished a lively conversation with the good humour he has generally shown me. I was glad to learn from him that no election commotion was likely to happen in Buckinghamshire, and that Lowndes would be safe. He asked about the

* The majority was 85, in a House of 515 members.

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Sidmouths, and when I told him nothing was fixed, said they were right to stand out for very high terms, for we must have them, &c. &c.

March 15*th*, 1812.—Dined at Ld. Mulgrave's—a family party, and very private and domestic conversation.

March 16*th*.—Lady Buckingham died almost suddenly. Her loss, as an excellent and agreeable woman, will be much felt. When Ld. Temple was going to her on Saturday she was scarcely ill.

In the House to-day on the Portuguese Subsidy. Freemantle let off a long and rather passionate speech against the war in the Peninsula, in which he ran counter to every principle of good policy that the nation could pursue. It is so felt out of doors, and was so felt by the House, by whom it was very ill received. We persuaded Perceval not to say a word in reply, which (curious enough) was left to Ward (Ld. Dudley's son) and Dillon, both of them Freemantle's friends and coadjutors in opposition. In a party point of view we were very glad of the whole exhibition, particularly when Freemantle concluded by proposing that the army should be withdrawn from Portugal; much laughed at by the House.

March 17*th*, 1812.—It is curious to observe with what industry and perseverance the report is spread of Ld. Lonsdale's intention to withdraw his support, if the Sidmouths join the Government. Long took me out of the House to-day to speak to me on it. He said he had heard nothing from Ld. L. on the sub-

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ject, and asked me if I had. I told him I had, and to the effect I have related. He asked if I had shown the letters to Perceval. I told him I had mentioned generally his disinclination to the Sidmouths, but did not show the letters, or mention them in all their particulars, because Ld. Lonsdale had desired me to consider them as written to myself alone, and I only related them to him (Long) because I knew Ld Lonsdale would open himself to him, if there were opportunity, in the same manner. I had, however, assured Perceval that Ld. Lonsdale's feeling did not at all diminish his respect and regard for him, or his wish to give him every support. Long said I had done right, more particularly as the thing being determined upon, the communication in detail would have no effect; that he had himself contradicted all the reports, which he thought were altogether ridiculous, except as to party views; but that he had lately (and it was what chiefly induced him to consult me on the subject) been asked by Ld. Egremont very particularly on the subject, who derived his information from Serjeant; who, as a friend and connection of the Sidmouths, might be considered as an authority.

Seeing Mr. Perceval, I asked him if he could enable me to tell Ld. Lonsdale anything was fixed as to the Sidmouths. He said, no, but they were much in progress. Wrote to Ld. Lonsdale.

General Gascoigne spoke to me on a subject which he said we should be sorry for; he informed me Tarle-

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ton would infallibly be thrown out for Liverpool *, and that Canning was in negotiation to come in upon the interest that returned him; that a deputation from that interest had conferred with him, and he had consented to go to a certain sum in point of expense; that Government ought to know this as the thing was advancing, and it might be too late to interfere if long delayed. He agreed with me, that this would be a great triumph to Canning if he succeeded; and as it was so great a commercial interest, coupled with his conduct on the question on the Orders in Council, the success would be a proportionable blow upon the Government: he added, however, that he was sure of coming in himself, and, if Government would give him a coadjutor of a certain weight and consequence in the place, he thought the interest on which he stood might return both members, but it must be resolved upon directly. I asked him why he did not mention this himself to Ministers. He said he had intended to do it; but they always seemed so occupied in the House, he could never get near them; that he wanted nothing of them, and he did not wish to call upon them lest it might look as if he did. I asked him if he would authorise me to mention the thing to Perceval on his authority,

* Parliament was now in its sixth session; hence these rumours of a dissolution, which in effect took place under the new Ministry, on the 29th of September. On Canning's standing for Liverpool, General Gascoigne found himself united with him by his friends, in the contest against Brougham and Creevy, in which the former two with difficulty came off victorious.

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which he gave me leave to do; but would do it himself, if he first found an opportunity. Thinking this of great importance, I went to Mr. Perceval's house — who saw me directly, and heard my communication, for which he expressed himself much obliged. He said he had heard a rumour of Canning's intentions, but neither had much attended to it, nor recollected the authority. This was in his usual negligence of these matters. He trusts too much to his character and excellent intentions. He agreed, however, the thing was important, and ought to be attended to; said there was a Mr. Bolton, a man of great local weight and consideration at Liverpool, who had expressed a willingness to stand against Tarleton, who was decidedly a friend to Government, and who had been in communication with him on commercial questions; particularly in showing, that the trading interest there was by no means so adverse on the public policy of the Ministry as had been represented. Him he thought of as the sort of man Gascoigne mentioned. As I had often heard of this gentleman as all P. supposed him, I urged his being instantly invited to stand. Mr. P., however, said the matter was not quite ripe enough to inform Gen. Gascoigne specifically of it; and that Mr. Bolton himself, though he might wish to offer, might yet not be willing to declare himself in absolute connection with Government. I was desired, therefore, to express a proper sense of Gascoigne's friendship, and to say a particular answer would be returned in two or three days.

We did much good business at the Ordnance Board

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to-day, particularly in putting an end to a useless contract for horns which cost the nation 7000*l.* a year.

March 19*th.* 1812. — Every body in the House of Lds. on Ld. Boringdon's motion upon the Prince's conduct, for such it was. This is a very serious affair. Ld. Wellesley, disappointed at the turn things had taken (hating Perceval, as it is said), and willing still if possible to be a man of consequence on his own account, has been willing to make an effort (in itself, for him, a great exertion) to retrieve his personal importance. Ld. Boringdon, therefore, his, or to speak correctly Canning's, friend (which they would make us blind people believe are very different things), has been worked upon to make a motion to consider the state of the Government, in consequence of what passed in the late negotiation. He has given long notice of this; it has been announced in conversation and in papers, that Ld. W. will stand in his place, and state the causes of the differences with Perceval which led to his resignation; and expectation has accordingly been raised to a higher pitch than almost ever was witnessed. All the avenues to the House were filled early; the whole House of Commons seemed in the Lds., and they were equally crowded below the bar. Ld. Boringdon performed his task well enough. He said that Government had been much weakened by Ld. Wellesley's resignation, who, he hoped, would explain his reasons that evening (much cheered by opposition); he descanted much on the Prince's letter and the answers, but quoting

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them from newspapers there was a sharp debate on order and the introduction of the Prince's name.* Ld. Boringdon lamented the negotiation did not go on; endeavoured to state a number of public evils that had lately happened, and concluded by moving an address, the object of which was for the Prince to resettle the Government. The debate was sharp, for Ld. Grimstone immediately moved a counter address by way of amendment, in which the Prince was congratulated and thanked for his wisdom and firmness in settling things as they were, and this was carried by the great majority of 93; one other instance added to the thousand that have occurred, in which our friends on the other side seem to act on purpose to serve us. Ld. Grenville did not attend, on account of Lady Buckingham's death. But the best exhibition was Ld. Wellesley, for whom the feast was made, sitting, as might be expected, very prominent, and as far as a man *seated* could be, exceedingly active and sensible to all the compliments which (according to the order of the drama contrived) were paid to him by Ld. Boringdon. He was, however, still seated, and seated all the evening, for, to the surprise and disappointment of all who attended only to hear him, he was utterly silent from beginning to end, and never once braced himself to an endeavour to explain him-

* The newspaper copy of the Prince Regent's letter to the Duke of York had been produced in the House; upon which the Lord Chancellor remarked, that he "had never witnessed, in the course of thirty years' parliamentary experience, anything so monstrous and disorderly." Lord Lansdowne "had never heard anything so disorderly as the language used by the Lord Chancellor."

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self.* All said it was mighty rude of him, for as he alone had contrived the play so he alone was the actor whom we had any desire to see or hear, not indeed for what we expected him to say or do, but for what he could not say or do. As it was, he acted exactly like himself from every thing we have conceived of him since his return from India, or at least since he joined the Ministry and so egregiously failed those whom he joined. H. Benet expressed his surprise, not very respectfully, that he had been trying what he could with opposition to make them do what Boringdon did, which failing he influenced that noble Ld. to come forward for the express purpose abovementioned, which made the failure the more surprising. He indeed never has spoken, and never will speak except on an opportunity made on purpose for him, but this being of his own express carving, we can only attribute his backwardness to his observation that the sense of the House was so much against him, a situation which in all his public life this great personage never has encountered, and probably never will encounter.

* It should in fairness to Lord Wellesley be mentioned that he did draw up a statement of the grounds of his resignation; assigning, first, his position in the Cabinet, "because for a long time past, on various important questions, his general opinions had not sufficient weight to justify him towards the public or towards his own character in continuing in office, and because he had no hope of obtaining from the Cabinet, as then constituted, a greater portion of attention than he had already experienced:" next, "his objections to the narrow and imperfect scale on which the efforts in the Peninsula were conducted:" and, thirdly, because "to Mr. Perceval's judgments or attainments he could not pay any deference, without injury to the public service."

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Sturges Bourne took me home long before the debate closed. He said it was hardly possible to suppose Canning and Ld. W. not in concert, however it might be contradicted. He deplored the junction with Ld. Sidmouth as tending to augment the idea of Perceval's intolerance.

Before I left the House I told Gascoigne Perceval's answer about Liverpool. He desired me to tell him in return (which I did) that if any one stood beside the present members, whether Canning or the other mentioned, Patten, the present member for Lancaster, would certainly come forward.

March 20th. 1812. — Received the following letter from Ld. Lonsdale, which shows his sentiments on Perceval's Government still more distinctly than ever.

"Cottesmere, March 18. 1813.

"My dear Sir,

"If I was not assured that both you and Mr. Perceval knew me better than to suppose that I could be actuated by such reasons as the admission of Lord Sidmouth into the Cabinet, in my general opinion of the present Government, I should feel uneasy at the reports which you tell me are in circulation. I do indeed lament that the state of things makes it necessary for Mr. Perceval to seek such aid, and particularly at the present crisis, for the reasons I have already assigned. I know not on what authority Mr. Serjeant can have spoken, for I believe I have not said one word on the subject of Ld. S. to any human being except yourself; and I shall, therefore, be

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obliged by your saying, and particularly to Mr. Serjeant, if you see him, that I disclaim, certainly, the assertions imputed to me, having on no occasion expressed any opinion in respect to the treaty said to be in progress with Ld. Sidmouth. I certainly cannot change my opinion of Lord S., but if circumstances render his assistance necessary, I can only regret that such necessity existed, and must submit to it, as to every circumstance it is not in my power to control.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Most respectfully yours,

"LONSDALE."

Not knowing how to meet with Mr. Serjeant as Ld. L. requests, I took Mr. Bathurst aside in the House, and disclaimed, on his part, any intention of hostility to Ld. S.

. . . . .

Mr. B. said he felt extremely obliged to me, though the communication in fact was unnecessary, as Ld. S. felt assured that hostility could not exist, especially as the motive probably assigned for it by Mr. Serjeant was the refusal by Ld. S. of an application of Ld. L.'s when Ld. S. was in the Government. The fear of such a motive, said Mr. B., was probably all that Mr. Serjeant expressed to Ld. Egremont, and Ld. S. felt so sure that Ld. L. was above it, that when a common friend, who had heard the same report (probably Ld. Camden), offered to communicate with Ld. L. upon it, he (Ld. S.) had declined it. Mr. B. added,

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however, that he would be not the less gratified by this authorised communication on my part.

Wrote to Ld. L. what had passed between me and Mr. B., particularly of the motive assigned him by Serjeant.

March 27th, 1812. — Heard from Lonsdale. He says he never met with any refusal from Ld. Sidmouth, to his recollection, and begs me to say so through the same channel (Mr. Bathurst) I have already used.

"Cottesmere, March 26. 1812.

"My dear Sir,

"One word more on the subject of Ld. Sidmouth and I have done. I never met with any refusal to any application I made to Lord Sidmouth while he was Minister, that I have the smallest recollection of; and I shall be further obliged to you, if you will, through the channel you have already employed, or through any other, let it be understood, that it was not in the smallest degree from any personal consideration that I ever felt any indisposition towards Ld. Sidmouth. It is not necessary to say more.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Most faithfully yours,

"LONSDALE."

April 2nd. — Wrote to Mr. Bathurst, in Gloucestershire, informing him of Ld. Lonsdale's want of recollection of the above, and arguing upon it, whether the refusal existed or not, as a proof of Ld. Lonsdale being above such motives in his public conduct.

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April 6th. — Received a handsome answer as subjoined.

Mr. Bathurst to R. Ward, Esq.

"Sydney Park, April 5. 1812.

"Dear Sir,

"I will not say the trouble which you have taken in the further explanation of Lord Lonsdale's sentiments, which I have just received, is unnecessary, because nothing can be wholly so that tends to set in its true light the conduct of public men; but it certainly was not requisite to remove from Lord Sidmouth's mind any impression of the truth of the reports of Lord Lonsdale's marked hostility to him, which had been prevalent; for, as I had occasion to mention to you the other day, I know that Ld. S. had recently said to a friend, who had offered his good offices to endeavour to remove that supposed hostility*, that he had too high an opinion of Lord Lonsdale's candour and liberality to believe that any such feeling could exist in his mind, and consequently that it could require any intervention to remove it.

"The circumstance, which you have been desired to mention to me, of his Lordship's having actually forgotten the refusal of an application of his to Ld. Sidmouth, which certainly happened, strongly confirms the opinion entertained by Ld. S. (and if I might be allowed to add, by myself) of his Lordship's liberality of character. His obliging solicitude to remove the

* It is to be observed, however, that what is denied by Lord Lonsdale, is the unworthy cause, and not the fact of his hostility.

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possibility of this misconception, which arose only from my supposition of what might have passed in Mr. Serjeant's mind, without giving the smallest countenance to it myself, will, I am sure, be duly felt by Lord Sidmouth, as your kind intervention in the whole of this explanation is by, dear Sir,

"Yours, very faithfully,

"C. BATHURST."

April 7th, 1812.—Dined at Perceval's. The company, Ld. and Lady Melville, Ld. Walpole, Dr. Butler of Harrow, Messrs. Peel, Long, Wallace, F. Robinson, and the ladies of the family. I never saw the host in better spirits, or a more bantering humour. No politics; but much laughing at the report of the Committee on the night watch. Miss Perceval told me they had wished their father to give a ball, which he promised *when he had made a general peace which the whole nation should approve.* I carried Long and Dr. Butler home. The latter talked exceedingly kind and considerate about my son, whom I am to place under his care at Harrow, on Thursday. Long much struck with him.

9th.— Went to Harrow with Henry. Much pleased with the place, the boys, and the masters.

Heard from both Ld. and Lady Lonsdale. The former has had a long detailed account from Perceval of all that had passed since the termination of the Restrictions. Ld. Sidmouth made the admission of his friends into the Cabinet a part of the compact, which Ld. L. disapproves. I confess I think it but

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natural. Lady L. was full of good-humoured kindness and hopes of poor Lady Mary's amendment.

April 11*th.*—Dined at Ld. Mulgrave's. A Yorkshire party, and little politics. The company, F. Robinson, Admiral Moorson, Sir Mark Sykes, Gen. Phipps, two Messrs. Yeomans, Croker, and Rd. and Henry Lascelles. The latter much afraid of the spirit of the country, which he prophesied would break out in our time into rebellion and revolution.

17*th.*—Mrs. Ward and I dined with Sir J. and Lady Swinburne, old and respected friends, though altogether differing in politics. I promised to bring forward Greathead's petition for a farther reward for the Northumberland life-boat. The party were Ld. James and Lady Emily Murray, Lady Susan Percy, Sir Geo. and Lady Beaumont, Captain Bennet. We had some skirmishes in party politics, but the conversation in general more mixed, rather literary, and much more agreeable. A discussion on Wilberforce's character, in which the majority seemed to think him honest, but extremely unfair, run away with by the attractions of any popular butterfly, and so undecided as to be no authority on any subject. In the evening came Lady Elizabeth Whitbread, her sister, and daughter, Mrs. Sheridan, and a train of other guests. There was music; Wesley on the organ. Much gratification, and the elegances of polished society. Bennet and I were to have gone to the debate, but we paired. Lady Beaumont said "It would do us both good and improve our taste. The House made us Hottentots!"

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April 18*th*, 1812.—Dined at Long's. The party, Wellesley Pole, Sir M. Sykes, Ld. John Thynne, Messrs. Gooch, Sturges Bourne, Croker, Lushington, Strutt, Sir W. Curtis, and Sir A. Hume. Much conviviality and mixed conversation. A contest on Oxford and Cambridge. We polled for it, and the Oxford men were superior. Gooch put me in mind of my nearly saving his life when we we were young men at Christ Church. Croker, who was of neither University, got the Cambridge men upon him by applying the proverb, "a bad Spaniard makes a good Portuguese," adversely to them, in a comparison with the Oxonians.

19*th*.—Dined at Ryder's. A cloud of members. From the scarcity he would give no pastry, and set the example of rice flour. We told him, as Home Secretary, he was bound to give us the recipe for his pudding, &c., which he promised and afterwards sent me. Some Cornish politics, in which it was said that none of the Lemons would be returned in the next Parliament.

April 21*st*, 1812.—Ld. Lonsdale arrived, and I saw him soon after. He rode from Cottesmere for the Catholic question in the Lds., which comes on to-day; was much hurried, but said he would tell me, at a more convenient opportunity, of a very remarkable conversation of the Prince with the Archbishop of York, in which he expressed himself very freely in regard to Ld. Sidmouth, whom he called by the coarse term of blockhead. He begged me

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to come to him before he returned to the country, which he said must be in a day or two.

The debate in the Lds. extremely loud. Ld. Donoughmore, who moved the question, very threatening and intemperate.*

22*nd.*— Ld. Kenyon called upon me, and described the debate of last night. He allowed Ld. Wellesley was particularly brilliant, and that the superiority was all on the side of opposition.

* "Is the public," said he, "to be insulted with the same ridiculous mummery? The convenient consciences of the Ministers and of their Sovereign continually changing places, and alternately giving way to each other with the greatest mutual politeness between the principal actors in this disgusting scene, and nothing appearing to be forgotten except the interests of the people!" And alluding to favourites behind the throne, he concluded; "The minions of the Court have been dragged from behind the throne, and exposed to the view of an insulted public." "The clumsy combination of vice and bigotry from which you are now seeking deliverance is composed of materials so wretched in themselves and held togther by a cement which has in its nature so little of what is permanent, that the whole pile exhibits now, almost at the moment of its construction, the obvious principle of decay." The motion was lost by 176 against 102, including proxies.

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CHAP. XV.

DEATH OF MR. PERCEVAL. — NEGOTIATIONS FOR A COMBINED ADMINISTRATION. — MR. WARD'S SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT ON THE ESTIMATES, ON THE UNITED SERVICE CLUB, AND THE EUROPEAN TREATIES. — BATTLE OF WATERLOO. — LETTERS FROM SIR ROBERT GARDINER AND LORD MARYBOROUGH.

AN event, however, was now approaching which, from the influence it had on his spirits, interrupted for a considerable period the continuous character of the Diary that has been presented to the reader. No one who has read thus far, can have failed to notice the enthusiastic admiration entertained by Mr. Ward for the character and talents of Mr. Perceval. Proportionate must no doubt have been the impression of horror produced on his mind by the awful event which so suddenly deprived the Government of one who had so gallantly contended at its head. Of this event the Diary furnishes no details, indeed, from the point to which we have arrived, there are only short pencil notes on various matters intended to be afterwards filled up at his leisure. This intention (possibly from the sudden revulsion of feeling he had experienced) was never carried out. The next full entry, and it is the only one that is interposed in an interval of several years, is under the date of the 14th of May, three days after Perceval's assassination. During that short interval, all kinds of reports had been rife as to the arrangements necessarily consequent upon his decease. A junction with a portion of the opposition; an Ad-

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ministration under Yorke, who had so lately been at the head of the Admiralty; an infusion of strength by the addition of Canning and Lord Wellesley, were thought of in succession. To some of these resources Mr. Ward alludes in the following passage.

May 14*th*, 1812.—At Ld. Mulgrave's in the morning. Told him a report that there was to be a union between Lds. Holland and Wellesley and the present Administration, and Ld. Moira to go to Ireland with assurances to the Catholics. He asked if the report excluded the Sidmouths and Castlereagh men, who had just* been invited to give strength to Government on Perceval's principles. I said yes. He wondered that even report should make them out so unscrupulous; and added, that he would never form part of a Cabinet who could so disgrace themselves: having gone so far, he said, he would add to *me*, that such was not likely to be the arrangement. That, as to the Catholics, though he did not go to such a length as Perceval, the Chancellor and Ld. Liverpool were far pledged. Speaking of Ld. Wellesley, he asked me how I thought his old colleagues would like to receive him again, after he had done all he could to embarrass and vilify † them. I said of course I could not judge how they felt to *him*, but I was sure, if the old oppo-

* Lord Castlereagh had joined as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs only the February before; Lord Sidmouth had been for a few weeks Lord President.

† Lord Wellesley had said, in the "statement" before alluded to, that "he was convinced, by experience, that the Cabinet neither possessed ability nor knowledge to devise a good plan, nor temper and discernment to adopt what he now thought necessary."

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sition was not resorted to, they must have Canning for Minister of the House of Commons, or could do nothing. He said "Ay, Canning *some where*, but not in such an arrangement as you say seems to be approved by the world." I left him to dress for Court, to carry up the Address*, and afraid that the new Ministry from their hints will neither be strong nor prosperous.

At Court, where more than 200 members, and about 100 carriages accompanied the Address. Few I thought of the old opposition. Ponsonby, a seconder, of course. Yorke took me aside. I told him what the Duke of Montrose had said; he observed, that he would not have left the Admiralty if it had not been for such ill health, as disqualified him much more to form an Administration.

Here the Diary again breaks off to be not again resumed till the 27th of October, 1819. Whether it were that he was discouraged at the thoughts of the task it would be to fill up the chasm he had allowed to intervene, or that the business of his office, with the necessary Parliamentary attendance, allowed him but little time to employ in this manner, or that it has in fact been continued in some book which is not now to be found, does not appear. The progress of the war at this period was so active, that the spare moments of one holding so important a position

* An address on Mr. Perceval's death, and recommending a provision for his family, had been adopted with the unanimous assent of all parties, having been moved by Lord Castlereagh, and seconded by the leader of the opposition, Mr. Ponsonby.

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in the Ordnance Office would no doubt be few and far between.

Although the negotiations for a new Ministry on a more extended basis were abundantly curious, yet there is not much to regret in the absence of detail upon this point on the part of Mr. Ward, as the particulars furnished by all concerned in it were so unfortunately minute. I say unfortunately, because every one must rise from their perusal with a feeling that it were better for all parties that such details were at least restricted to those whom they more immediately affect. Five separate times were attempts made to form a new Administration, each successive attempt seeming to imply the *absolute impossibility* of those who had so suddenly lost their leader continuing to carry on the Government, without some fresh infusion of strength; and yet, after each attempt had failed, that same Government, with no alteration in its more important offices, continued in power longer, and with fewer changes, than any other Cabinet in the pages of history.

As the extract just given from Mr. Ward's Diary has introduced the subject, it may be well shortly to notice the negotiations that succeeded. Three days after the conversation there recorded, Lord Liverpool called on Mr. Canning and Ld. Wellesley to propose to them to *join* the then Government. The following were the temptations held out to them: Ld. Castlereagh, whose alleged incapacity was the cause of Mr. Canning's former resignation, *was to remain* Foreign Secretary and to lead the House of Commons

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(though it was graciously intimated to Mr. Canning that upon these terms Ld. Castlereagh had no objection to his coming in); Ld. Liverpool himself was to be Premier; Ld. Sidmouth and his friends not to be displaced, and no alteration as to the policy of the Cabinet upon the Catholic question contemplated. Upon such conditions it is not very wonderful that proposal No. 1. failed. Upon this Ld. Wellesley attempted, on the 23rd, to form a Government, of which he himself was to be head. He on that day addressed, simultaneously to his old colleagues and to Lds. Grey and Grenville, proposals to form part of a Cabinet, the two principles of which were to be, the taking into early and serious consideration the Catholic claims, with a view to their final and satisfactory settlement; and the "prosecution of the war in the Peninsula with the best means of the country," or, as he phrased it to Ld. Grey, "upon a scale of adequate vigour." Ld. Liverpool and his friends, without discussing the "principles," declined, after what had recently passed, to form part of a Government of which Lord Wellesley was to be head. The answer of Lds. Grey and Grenville assented sufficiently to the views he announced upon the Catholic question, but upon the war in the Peninsula there was more difficulty. The old opposition were by no means prepared to assent to the policy of carrying on a war there *at all;* and they were too deeply pledged to retrenchment, and particularly to a reduction of the war expenses, to be able safely, or even honestly, to assent beforehand

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to increased expenditure in Spain. Lds. Grey and Grenville therefore contented themselves with objecting, very justly, that the direction of military operations in an extensive war was a question not of "principle" but of policy: they, however, distinctly intimated, that, "in the present state of the finances, they entertained the strongest doubts of the practicability of an increase in any branch of the public expenditure." Thus repudiated by one party, and bedewed with cold water by the other, Ld. Wellesley was considered by the Prince Regent to have failed in his attempt, and a third experiment was tried, this time by the late Government, as to the possibility of their so far assenting to the first of Ld. Wellesley's two "principles," as to admit him into their Government. Such a proposition to one who, up to the moment of its reception, was not sure that he had quite done making a Cabinet for himself, appears to have been at once knocked on the head. Then came a fourth attempt, of a much more elaborate and complex nature. In a communication from Ld. Wellesley to Ld. Grey, on the 1st of June, this project was opened, by which Ld. Wellesley was still to be Premier, and to "conduct the formation of the Administration in all its branches," of which Administration Ld. Moira, Ld. Erskine, and Mr. Canning (*nominatim*) were to be members; while Lds. Grey and Grenville were invited to name "four out of a Cabinet of twelve, or five out of thirteen, to fill such stations in his Royal Highness's councils as may hereafter be arranged." Scheme

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No. 4. met with no better fate than its predecessors; it was rejected by Lds. Grey and Grenville as a proposal they could not accede to, as equally new in practice as objectionable in principle, as tending to establish within the Cabinet itself a system of counteraction inconsistent with the prosecution of any uniform or beneficial course of policy. After two or three days passed in explanatory correspondence, a last attempt (the fifth within three weeks) seemed from its very nature almost certain of success. It was no less than a special authority from the Regent to Ld. Moira to address himself to Lds. Grey and Grenville on the formation of an Administration: an authority which, upon inquiry in a personal interview between the parties, was found to be "without any restriction or limitation whatever." It was at this stage of the proceedings that the objection was started by the two Whig Lords, which has been described as building up a wall to run their own heads against. Before any thing was said on either side upon the subject of official arrangements, or any persons prepared on either side to fill up any particular situations, the question was started as to "whether this full liberty extended to the consideration of new appointments to the great household offices?" It was now that Ld. Moira took upon himself to say (while disclaiming that the Prince had laid any restriction upon him in that respect, or had ever pointed in the most distant manner at the protection of these officers from removal), that it would be impossible for *him*,

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however, to concur in making the exercise of this power positive and indispensable. This at once caused the rupture of the whole arrangement; so that it must be added, that if Lds. Grey and Grenville did build up a wall to break their own heads against, Ld. Moira, on his part, interfered to prevent the wall being taken down.

The result of the curious occurrences at which we have thus hastily glanced was most favourable to the Tory party. Lord Liverpool was immediately appointed to the head of that Administration, which, though thus apparently on its last legs, exhibited so unparalleled a tenacity of life, so continuous a command of Parliamentary majorities, and so curious an exemption from internal convulsions;— the seven principal officers, viz. the First Lord of the Treasury, Lord Chancellor, three Secretaries of State, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and First Lord of the Admiralty remaining without change of any kind, even *inter se*, for a period of ten years.

So even and uninterrupted a course of agreement between individuals would seem to betoken either an entire absence of jealousy and unworthy feeling among those who composed the Cabinet, or else a peculiar tact on the part of the Prime Minister, in which possibly consisted his chief merit. The first measure of safety attempted by the newly constituted Cabinet was a dissolution of Parliament, the fruits of which are discussed in a fragment of the discontinued journal, which I have not thought it necessary to

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subjoin. The result, however, appeared to be that Canning's party was somewhat strengthened.

During the latter period of the Continental war, so severe and constant were the labours imposed upon all connected with the Ordnance Office, that Mr. Ward's health, never strong, was more than once very seriously affected. For all this, however, he was more than compensated by the news of the glorious termination of that protracted struggle. I cannot resist here giving insertion to two letters addressed to his *chef*. They have both a peculiar interest, the one as a short but vivid expression of feeling on the eve of the battle of Waterloo, on the part of the brother of the great Captain who was so soon to win it; the other as furnishing a detailed account (written within a month of the victory) of events which nothing but the recollections of the moment can adequately describe.

Right Hon. W. W. Pole to the Earl of Mulgrave.

"Brussels, Friday.

"My dear Lord,

"Our letters to Lord Castlereagh will explain to you all we have done. I however send you a line to tell you that Arthur is very grateful for your kindness. 150 pieces of field artillery, of which the part to be horse artillery should be 8 troops, is what would enable Arthur to take the field with full effect. I will explain all particulars when we meet. In the mean time pray put on your *spurs*, and *kick* the rust off my old friends at Woolwich.

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Every thing depends upon our army being equipped in time. I have two reasons for wishing our artillery to excel; first, for the sake of the credit of my dear old master; and, secondly, for the credit of my old department. All looks well I think, and, please God, we shall sweep the scourge from the face of the earth he has so polluted after all.

"Ever yours, most affectionately,

"W. W. POLE."

Extract of a letter from Sir Robert Gardiner to the Earl of Mulgrave:—

"I had hesitated as to forwarding to England the usual extract from my journal, particularly after reading the Duke of Wellington's dispatch from Waterloo. He has so perfectly detailed the events of that day: both his own difficulties, the fearful odds opposed to him, and the success with which they were defeated, that it becomes a sort of presumption in any other person to venture any remark or illustration to what he has so unusually well related.

"In all our past services I have beheld the Duke of Wellington certainly with admiration; whether considering the calm and persevering devotion of his own conduct, or whether guiding that of his troops; but on this occasion, I should in vain endeavour to speak of those great efforts and firmness of mind, that saved his army and secured a victory promising such general good and happiness. He appeared to act as if believing an example of devotedness was necessary in himself; it was so also with his powerful opponent;

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and both chiefs, regardless of every event beyond that day's battle, fought as knowing the liberty or the dominion of Europe would be secured or lost in their success or overthrow. I hope it may be said without a boast, that no troops but our own, could have withstood the repeated and unparalleled attacks of an army so overpowering in numbers, and so confident in its success; it required a feeling for national honour, and a constancy that alone exists in the British army, to meet and withstand so unequal a conflict. We had been compelled to advance at a time when the state of organisation in the allied army was known not to be perfected; nor had the Duke's utmost efforts, unceasingly as they had been exerted, enabled him to accomplish this to the extent he would have desired; and I believe I may venture to add, that had he remained unmolested no forward movement would have been made before the middle or close of the present month.

"The occurrences of the 16th and 17th were consequently rendered in some degree unfortunate, by having to advance the cavalry and corps of artillery attached to them and to some other parts of the army, at the period of the enemy's approach. The Duke received intelligence of Napoleon's movement on Charleroi, on the night of the 15th, and on the 16th we broke up from cantonments, and made a forced march by Braine-le-Comte and Nivelles on Quatre Bras. We could not arrive in time to bear part in the attack made by the enemy there, nor indeed did we reach it till daylight on the morning of the 17th.

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"The Prussian army having retired on our left, the Duke made a corresponding movement; and on the 17th drew off his infantry from Quatre Bras, shortly after our arrival there; the cavalry followed their route in two columns about two o'clock. It was late in the evening when we again joined the army, which had halted in position before the Bois de Soignée, and partly in occupation of the ground which became the scene of action the following day. These movements had been continued almost without interruption, and had been rendered exceedingly harassing to the troops from the heavy rains, which commenced as we retired from Quatre Bras and continued without intermission throughout the night of the 17th.

"The ground selected by the Duke for the position of his army, ran on a ridge of heights in front of the Bois de Soignée, crossing the high roads from Charleroi and Nivelles to Bruxelles, and distant about two miles in front of Waterloo; the course of these hills kept generally a straight line, rising in an open and gradual ascent from all sides, without having any particular feature which could be considered as securing our flanks, and perfectly open to our front, admitting with equal and perfect facility the operations and movements of the two armies. The country beyond the plain before us rose to a chain of heights, forming an admirable position from our approach, but intersected and covered in the reverse; I should otherwise have thought the Duke would have halted us here, in preference to the line he occupied above Waterloo.

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"On the morning of the 18th, the enemy was perfectly quiet, nor did he appear to have added any considerable reinforcement to the small line he held in front of our right. But about ten o'clock this corps was put in movement, and advanced against our right centre. This bore merely the appearance of a reconnoissance, and I considered it as such for a considerable time. At length, however, the attack developed itself; at the point from which this first corps advanced there appeared an interminable host, diverging to its right and left, and advancing against the whole extent of our position. They seemed to sweep down the hills before us; their formation admitted of no observation; all was executed while in rapid movement, covered by innumerable light troops, and a fire of unusually heavy artillery. This was admirably served throughout the day; it was placed generally *en masse*, and occasioned dreadful havoc against those points in our line which it was destined to penetrate. The shock of the two armies meeting was almost instantaneous. In less than an hour the battle was general along our whole front.

"The enemy's first attacks were confined to the efforts of his artillery and infantry, though always supported by massive corps of cavalry; these in their turn soon bore a part, and their attacks became united — supporting each other, and endeavouring with dreadful desperation to pierce our line. As the day advanced, the efforts of his cavalry were exerted, if possible, with increasing determination, and for a considerable time our ground was maintained in squares

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of infantry. As late as five or six in the evening there was no point at which we had yielded, or that we had not recovered from their possession. The enemy's attacks, however, of united cavalry and infantry were continued with unabated vigour, his command of numbers enabling him as they were defeated to return to the charge, and renew them with fresh troops; the fire of their artillery supported these with unceasing destruction. It was about seven in the evening when the Emperor made a last effort, and advanced an enormous force against our left centre. If at any part of the day victory was at all doubtful, I should say it was at this moment. I could observe, however, the Duke collecting his numbers from different points, and moving them to meet this effort; and we had at length the happiness of seeing the firmness of the army in the former trials of the day rewarded in this last with ultimate success. The enemy were repulsed, leaving the ground covered with their dead and wounded. To the most dinning and continued roar of cannon and musketry I have ever known, there succeeded a sudden pause and silence, it was but momentary — they had turned, and now fled, pursued by our troops. The Duke immediately advanced his whole line, supported by the cavalry, and all his artillery that remained moveable.

"I should have mentioned the arrival of General Bulow's corps of the Prussian army, which effected its junction on our left about 5 o'clock in the evening. The Hussars, the 10th, the 18th, and 1st Germans,

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had been posted on the extreme left of the British line throughout the day, so that I had an opportunity of observing the admirable manner in which they advanced to place themselves on the enemy's flank. It was evident this movement had been foreseen and expected by Napoleon. In an instant I could perceive the heads of several reserve columns start forward one beyond the other as far as the eye could discern, with their several supports of artillery covering their formation against the Prussian attack.

"It was about the period I have mentioned, when their last attack on our line had been repulsed, that the Prussians seemed to have penetrated, and succeeded in their operation on the enemy's right. They had by this time outflanked the movements of the reserve corps acting against them, and had literally thrown themselves across the right of the Emperor's army, and were every moment gaining and pressing fast in on his main body. No doubt this movement tended to occasion that disorder and panic with which they fled from their last attack. This, in fact, was the moment of annihilation to his army. The Duke had withdrawn every disposable man to his centre and right, and continued to advance, his cavalry gaining fast on their left flank. The Prussians had entirely succeeded, and now carried every thing before them without a check. Thus pressed in on both flanks, and unable to turn on the attack the Duke had commenced on their centre, their confusion and rout became at once general; the pursuit was

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kept up by the Prussians throughout the night; I think it was eleven o'clock when we halted.

"You will observe, my Lord, that I can only offer general outlines of what occurred on this most glorious day. I have noticed them as nearly as I have been able under the impressions they effected at the moment. It is a task for which few have adequate powers to enter on what could be considered a perfect narrative of its events; they are only to be traced in the individual testimony of every man whose fortune it was to bear a part in its achievement; and I fear I must say, however glorious its result has been to our country's name, in the sad record and lasting loss of numberless friends, your Lordship will I am sure discern that among ourselves in particular, the sacrifice has fallen on our first and most boasted officers.

"In detailing its events we should not withhold our tribute and testimony of praise to the bravery and devoted conduct of the Emperor's army. His own conduct was that of a man who sees the last hope of fortune falling from him. From every account I have heard, as well from prisoners as those persons who profess to have been near him in the action, he certainly headed two charges made by his Imperial Guard. It will always be in the recollection of his army also, that the Duke personally received and resisted these charges. He appeared to be ever in the midst of those who were supporting the most unequal and hazardous conflict.

"I believe no person was at first aware either of the

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extent of our victory, or of the important consequences to which it would lead. These have since appeared in the events that followed the capitulation of the French army and capital. We may hope that the results may be rendered lasting and secured to the world."

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

LONDON:
SPOTTISWOODES and SHAW,
New-street-Square.

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